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Page 304 line 16 from top, *read* हयारोहास्तत:
Page 304 verse 1093, *read* पाञ्चाल्यौ.
Page 305 verse 1192, *read* °रक्तेन.
Page 306 verse 1332 *read* जात°.

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THE RAMACHARITAMANASA AND THE RAMAYANA.

BY L. P. TESSITORI; UDINE (ITALY).

(Continued from Vol. XLI, p. 286.)

Ayodhyâkâṇḍa.

(10) The supreme desire of the old Daçaratha is that he may see Râma's coronation in his lifetime:

C, II, 1, 36-37 (*B*, II, 1, 19):
atha râjño babhûvai 'va vṛiddhasya chirajîvinaḥ | prîtir eshâ katham Râmo râjâ syân mayi jîvati || 36 || eshâ hy asya parâ prîtir hṛidi samparivartate | kadâ nâma sutaṃ drakshyâmy abhishiktam ahaṃ priyam || 37 ||

R. C. M., II, 1, 10:
(saba ke ura abhilâshu asa . . . |)
âpu achhata jubarâja-padu Râmahiṁ deu naresu ||

R. C. M., II, 4, 3^a:
mohi achhata yahu hoi uchhâhû |

Tulasî Dâsa, in the first of the two quotations given above, ascribes to all the citizens what Vâlmîki had ascribed to Daçaratha, but the substance is the same. The central point of the comparison is represented by the phrase *mayi jîvati*, which has been literally translated into *âpu achhata* and *mohi achhata*, and the correspondence is made still more persuasive by the fact that *âpu achhata* in the first quotation from the *R. C. M.* is quite superfluous and unjustifiable.

(11) Men and women in Ayodhyâ, eager to see Râma's coronation, look impatiently for the morning:

C, II, 5, 19 (*B*, II, 4, 19):
tadâ hy Ayodhyânilayaḥ sastrîbâlâkulo janaḥ | Râmâbhishekam âkâṅkshann âkâṅkshann udayaṃ raveḥ || 19 ||.

R. C. M., II, 11, 3^b-4^a:
kahahiṁ parasapara loga logâî |
kâli lagana bhali ketika bârâ |.

Ib. 6^a:
sakala kahahiṁ kaba hoihi kâlî |.

(12) Vâlmîki, in order to depict Mantharâ's passion, makes use of the metaphors: *dahyamânâ krodhena* (*C*, II, 7, 13) and *dahyamânâ'nalene'va* (*ibid*, 21), which might have been the origin of Tulasî Dâsa's expression: (*Râma-tilaku suni*) *bhâ ura-dâhû* (II, 13, 2).

(13) It has always been a rule in the Solar race that the eldest son should be king and his younger brothers obey his commands. This argument, which Vâlmîki puts forth several times in his *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa* in favor of Râma's consecration, is picked up by Tulasî Dâsa and caused to

be uttered by Kaikeyî, when she is trying to convince Mantharâ that it is quite right that Râma should be made king :

C, II, 73, 20; 22 (*B* wanting):

asmin kule hi sarveshâṃ jyeshṭho râjye 'bhishichyate | apare bhrâtaras tasmin pravartante samâhitâḥ || 20 || satataṃ râjaputreshu jyeshṭho râjâ 'bhishichyate | râjñâm etat samaṃ tat syâd Ikshvâkûṇâṃ viçeshataḥ || 22 ||

C, II, 79, 7^a (*B*, II, 86, 10):

jyeshṭhasya râjatâ nityam uchitâ hi kulasya naḥ |

C, II, 102, 2 (*B*, II, 111, 2):

çâçvato 'yaṃ sadâ dharmaḥ sthito 'smâsu. . . | jyeshṭhe putre sthite râjâ na kanîyân bhaven nṛipaḥ || 2 || .

R. C. M., II, 15, 3 :

jeṭha svâmi sevaka laghu bhâî | yaha dinakara-kula rîti suhâî ||

(14) Daçaratha stoops over Kaikeyî, who is lying on the ground full of anger, and touches her with his hands :

C, II, 10, 27^a (*B*, II, 9, 6^a):

parimṛijya cha pâṇibhyâṃ . . .

R. C. M., II, 25, 9 :

parasata pâni . . .

(15) Daçaratha asks Kaikeyî who has dared to vex her and what he is to do in order to punish the offender, and says that he himself, as well as all his family, is at her disposal :

C, II, 10, 31 and ff. (*B*, II, 9, 10 and ff.) :

(...vyâdhim âchakshva bhâmini) | kasya vâ 'pi priyaṃ kâryaṃ kena vâ vipriyaṃ kṛitam || 31 || kaḥ priyaṃ labhatâm adya ko vâ sumahad apriyam | . . . . || 32 || avadhyo vadhyatâṃ ko vâ vadhyaḥ ko vâ vimuchyatâm | daridraḥ ko bhaved âḍhyo dravyavân vâ 'py akiñchanaḥ || 33 || ahaṃ cha hi madîyâç cha sarve tava vaçâ'nugâḥ | .

R. C. M., II, 26, 1-2, 5:

anahita tora priyâ kei kînhâ | kehi dui sira kehi Jama chaha lînhâ | kahu kehi raṅkahi karaüṁ naresû | kahu kehi nṛipahi nikâsaüṁ desû ||... priyâ prâna suta sarabasu more | parijana prajâ sakala basa tore | . . .

The passage is quite identical, even in form, in both the poems.

(16) Kaikeyî insists on demanding that the king should keep his promise and alleges the examples of others who gave their life and property to keep their word. This we find in both the poems, only the examples quoted differ, as Vâlmîki (*C*, II, 12, 43 and ff.; *C*, II, 14, 4 and ff. F ; *B*, II, 11, 4 and ff.) quotes those of Çibi, Alarka and Sâgara, whilst Tulasî Dâsa (II, 30, 7, quotes those of Çibi, Dadhîchi and Bali. The example, of Bali, however, has a correspondence in the *R.* (*C*, II, 14, 11 = *B*, II, 11, 9^b-10^a).

(17) Daçaratha wishes the day of Râma's banishment would never break :

C, II, 13, 17^b (B wanting):

na prabhâtaṃ tvaye 'chchhâmi niçe nakshatrabhûshite || 17 ||

R. C. M., II, 37, 2^a:

(bhuâlû) . . . hṛidaya manâva bhoru jani hoî |

(18) On the morning of the day fixed for the coronation, Râma is called to the king's presence, where, seeing his father lying on the ground in a miserable condition and not being addressed by him, he begins to suspect that the king must be angry with him, and asks Kaikeyî what is the offence which has made his father angry :

C, II, 18, 11 (*B*, II, 15, 18) :

kachchin mayâ nâ 'paraddham ajñânâd yena me pitâ | kupitas tan mamâ 'chakshva . .

R. C. M., II, 42, 7^b-8:

bhâ mohi teṁ kachhu baḍa aparâdhû || tâ teṁ mohi na kahata kachhu râû | mori sapatha tohi kahu satibhâû |.

(19) In the *R. C. M.* (II, 44, 9-10) Daçaratha prays Çiva that Râma may disregard his command and refuse to go to the woods. The same wish Vâlmîki ascribes to Daçaratha in the *R.* (*C*, II, 12, 86).

(20) Râma, in order to dissuade Sîtâ from her resolution to follow him to the exile, draws a sketch of the hardships of the forest, insisting particularly on the following points: (1) sleeping on the bare ground; (2) wearing bark-garments; (3) living on fruits, bulbs and roots and fasting occasionally when that natural food is scanty:

C, II, 28, 11 and ff (*B*, II, 28, 20 and ff:)

supyate parṇaçayyâsu svayambhagnâsu bhûtale | . . . || 11 || ahorâtraṃ cha saṃtoshaḥ kartavyo niyatâtmanâ | phalair vṛikshâvapatitaiḥ . . . . || 12 || upavâsaç cha kartavyo . . . | jaṭâbhâraç cha kartavyo valkalâmbara-dhâraṇam || 13 || . . . . || yathâlabdhena kartavyaḥ saṃtoshas . . . . | yathâ 'hârair vanacharaiḥ . . . . || 17 ||

R. C. M., II, 62, 9-10;

bhûmi-sayana balakala-basana asana kanda-phala-mûla | te ki sadâ saba dina milahiṁ samaya samaya anukûla ||

The last point is better developed in:

B, II, 28, 22 (*C* wanting):

vaneshv alabhyamâne cha vanye mûlaphale punaḥ | bahûny ahâni vastavyaṃ nirâhârair vanâçrayaiḥ || 22||.

(21) Sîtâ answers that a layer of grass will be for her the most delightful bed and that fruits and roots will be as sweet as ambrosia, provided she be near Râma:

C, II, 30, 14-15 (*B*, II, 30, 16-17):

çâdvaleshu yadâ çiçye vanântarvanagocharâ | kuthâstaraṇayukteshu kiṃ syât sukhataraṃ tataḥ || 14 || patram mûlaṃ phalaṃ yat tu alpaṃ vâ yadi vâ bahu | dâsyase svayam âhṛitya tan me 'mṛitarasopamam || 15 ||

R. C. M., II, 66, 2-3[a]:

kusa-kisalaya-sâtharî suhâî | prabhu-saṁga mañju Manoja-turâî || kanda mûla phala amia ahârû |

and protests she will never get weary on the way:

C, II, 30, 11[a] (*B*, II, 30, 12[a]):

na cha me bhavitâ tatra kaçchit pathi pariçramaḥ |.

R. C. M., II, 67, 1[a]:

mohi maga chalata na hoihi hârî |.

(22) After Sîtâ has been given permission to follow her spouse, Lakshmaṇa grasps his brother's feet, wishing to be allowed to accompany him:

C, II, 31, 1 and ff (*B*, II, 31, 4 and ff):

evaṃ çrutvâ sa saṃvâdaṃ Lakshmaṇaḥ pûrvam âgataḥ | bâshpaparyâkulamukhaḥ çokaṃ soḍhum açaknuvan || 1 || sa bhrâtuç charaṇau gâḍhaṃ nipîḍya Raghunandanaḥ . . . .

R. C. M., II, 70, 1-2:

samâchâra jaba Lachhimana pâye | byâkula bilasha-badana uṭhi dhâye | kampa pulaka tana nayana sanîrâ | gahe charana ati-prema adhîrâ ||.

(23) In the *R. C. M.* Sumitrâ instructs Lakshmaṇa to take heed that Râma and Sîtâ live happily in the woods and forget their father, mother, friends and relations and the pleasures of the city. This can be traced back to a passage in the *R.* where Sîtâ says she will never think, while in the woods, of her parents, nor of the palace, which she has renounced:

C, II, 30, 16 (*B*, II, 30, 18):

na mâtur na pitus tatra smarishyâmi na veçmanaḥ |.

R. C. M., II, 75, 9-10:

upadesa yaha jehi jâta tumhare Râma Siya sukha pâvahîṁ | pitu-mâtu-priya-parivâru-pura-sukha surati bana bisarâvahîṁ ||.

(24) Sumitrâ instructs Lakshmaṇa to regard Râma as Daçaratha, Sîtâ as herself and the forest as Ayodhyâ:

C, II, 40, 9 (*B*, II, 39, 11b-12a): Râmaṃ Daçarathaṃ viddhi mâṃ viddhi Janakâtmajâm | Ayodhyâm aṭavîṃ viddhi	*R. C. M.*, II, 74, 2-3a: tâta tumhâri mâtu Baidehî | pitâ Râmu saba bhâṁti sanehî || Avadha tahâṁ jahaṁ Râma-nivâsû | . .

(25) The citizens accompanying Râma into the exile awake in the morning after the first halt, and, not seeing Râma any more, burst into lamentations, and cursing their lives bereft of Râma, pray to die:

C, II, 47, 7 (*B* wanting): ihai' va nidhanaṃ yâma mahâprasthânam eva vâ | Râmeṇa rahitânâṃ no kim arthaṃ jîvitaṃ hitam || 7 || . . . itî 'va . . | vilapanti	*R. C. M.*, II, 86, 5b -7a: dhiga jîvana Raghubîra-bihînâ | jauṁ pai priya-biyoga Bidhi kînhâ | tau kasa marana na mâṁge dînhâ || ehi bidhi karata pralâpa-kalâpâ | . . .

(26) Râma, when taking leave of Sumantra, implores him to do everything in his power so that the king may not grieve on his account:

C, II, 52, 22b (*B* wanting): yathâ Daçaratho râjâ mâṃ na çochet tathâ kuru || 22 ||.	*R. C. M.*, II, 96, 2: saba bidhi soi karatabya tumhâre | dukha na pâva pitu socha hamâre ||.

(27) Sîtâ's prayer to the Gaṅgâ:

C, II, 52, 82b and ff. (*B*, II, 52, 17 and ff.): Vaidehî prâñjalirbhûtvâ tâṃ nadîm idam abravît || 82 || putro Daçarathasyâ' yaṃ mahârâjasya dhîmataḥ | nideçaṃ pâlayatv enaṃ Gaṅge tvadabhirakshitaḥ || 83 || chaturdaça hi varshâṇi samagrâṇy ushya kânane | bhrâtrâ saha mayâ chai 'va punaḥ pratyâgamishyati || 84 || tatas tvaṃ devi subhage kshemeṇa punar âgatâ | yakshye pramuditâ Gaṅge sarvakâmasamṛiddhinî || 85 || . . . . punar eva mahâbâhur mayâ bhrâtrâ cha saṃgataḥ | Ayodhyâṃ vanavâsât tu praviçatv anagho 'naghe || 91 || .	*R. C. M.*, II, 103, 2-3: Siya Surasarihiṁ kaheu kara jorî mâtu manoratha puraübi morî || pati devara saṁga kusala bahorî | âi karaüṁ jehi pûjâ torî ||.

(28) Sumantra, on his return after having accompanied the three exiles to the woods, relates to Daçaratha Râma's and Lakshmaṇa's messages:

B, II, 58, 22 and ff. (*C*, II, 58, 21 and ff.): . . . vaktavyo Bharato vachanân mama | . . . || 22|| tvayâ çuçrûshyamâṇo mâṃ na çochati yathâ nṛipaḥ | matsnehâd arhasi tathâ kartum ity api niçchayam || 23 || samaṃ mâtṛishu sarvâsu vartethâ iti châ' bravît | . . . . || 24 || 25 || ishadrosha parîtas tu Saumitrir idam abravît | . . .	*R. C. M.*, II, 152, 3a and ff. kahaba saṁdesu Bharata ke âye | . . . seyehu mâtu sakala sama j nî || . . . . . tâta bhâṁti tehi râkhaba râû socha mora jehi karaî na kâû || Lashana kahe kachhu bachana kaṭhorâ | . . .

As regards Sîtâ, both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.*, Sumantra says she was so moved that she could utter no words. The correspondence is so much the more significant as neither Vâlmîki nor Tulasî Dâsa had mentioned Sîtâ when describing Sumantra's taking leave from the exiles. Had

not Tulasî Dâsa kept strictly close to the *R.*, it would be difficult to explain as a mere chance that he should have made the same omission as his predecessor had :

B, II, 58, 34 and ff. (*C*, II, 58, 34 and ff.) :
Jânakî tu viniçvasya bâshpachchhannasvarâ nṛipa | bhûtopasṛishṭachitte'va vîkshamâṇâ samantataḥ || 34 || adṛishṭapûrvavyasanâ râjaputrî yaçasvinî | paryaçruvadanâ dînâ nai 'va mâṃ kiṃchid abravît || 35 || udîkshamâṇâ bhartâraṃ mukhena pariçushyatâ | mumocha kevalaṃ bâshpaṃ mâṃ nivṛittam avekshya sâ || 36 ||.

R. C. M., II, 152, 9-10 :
kahi pranâma kachhu kahana liya Siya bhaï sithila saneha | thakita bachana lochana sajala pulaka-pallavita deha ||.

(29) The fastening up their hair, after the mode of the ascetics, which the exiles had adopted before crossing the Gaṅgâ (*B*, II, 52, 2 and ff. = *C*, II, 52, 68 and ff.) is not mentioned by Tulasî Dâsa in its proper place. But he does not omit this particular in Sumantra's relation to Daçaratha of what the exiles had done before he took his leave of them :

R. C. M., II, 151, 2 :
hota prâta baṭa-chhîru maṁgâvâ | jaṭâ-mukuṭa nija sîsa banâvâ ||
where *maṁgâvâ* is perhaps sufficient to show that Tulasî Dâsa had before his mind the above-cited passage of the *R.*, where Râma gives Guha the command: *nyagrodhakshîram ânaya* (*B*, II, 52, 2 = *C*, II, 52, 68).

(30) Sumantra goes on to relate how his horses, after Râma's departure, kept on looking in the direction in which Râma had disappeared and neighing and shedding tears :

B, II, 59, 4 (*C*, II, 59, 1) :
tato mama nivṛittasya turagâ bâshpaviklavâḥ | Râmam evâ'nupaçyanto heshamâṇâ vichukruçuḥ || 4 ||.

R. C. M., II, 142, 8ª, 9 :
dekhi dakhina-disi haya hihinâhîṁ | . . . . .|| nahiṁ tṛina charahiṁ na piyahiṁ jala mochahiṁ lochana-bâri | .

(31) Tulasî Dâsa's account of what happened after Daçaratha's death harmonizes perfectly in its main lines with Vâlmîki's description, though the latter is of course much more diffuse. In fact the succession of the particulars is exactly the same in the *R. C. M.*, as in the *R.*, *viz.*: (1) lamentations of the women in the seraglio (*B*, II, 68, 50-51 ; *C*, II, 66, 16-23; *R. C. M.*, II, 156, 3-4) ; (2) affliction of the citizens and their lamentations (*B*, II, 68, 52-55; *C*, II, 66, 24-29 ; *R. C. M.*, II; 156, 5-6) ; (3) the breaking of the day and the gathering of the council (*B*, II, 69, 1 ; *C*, II, 67, 1-2; *R. C.M.*, II, 156, 8).

Moreover, there are in this passage of the *R. C. M.* two unquestionable reminiscences of the *R.*, to wit, where Tulasî Dâsa says the citizens regretted that the sun of the Solar race had set and where he says that everybody was abusing Kaikeyî. They can be traced back to the following passages of the *R.*:

B, II, 68, 54 (*C*, II, 66, 28) :
hataprabhâ dyaur iva bhâskaraṃ vinâ . . . . | rarâja sâ nai'va bhṛiçaṃ mahâpurî . . . .

B, II, 68, 55 (*C*, II, 66, 29) :
narâç cha nâryaç cha bhṛiçârtamânasâ vigarhayanto Bharatasya mâtaram | . . . .

(32) Bharata's hasty travel from Râjagṛiha to Ayodhyâ, which is described at length by Vâlmîki (*B*, II, 73; *C*, II, 71), is condensed to less than within only half a *chaupâî* by Tulasî Dâsa :

R. C. M., II, 158, 1 :
chale samîra-bega haya hâṁke | nâghata sarita saila bana bâṁke |
but that half *chaupâî* contains a complete summary of what Vâlmîki says in his fuller account, where Bharata is likewise represented as crossing rivers, forests and mountains, fatiguing his horses and vying in speed with the wind. As to this last point, namely, the comparison of Bharata's

speed to that of the wind, I think it is sufficient to prove that Tulasî Dâsa, when writing his *chale samîra-bega*, had in mind the following çloka of the *R.* :

B, II, 73, 7 (*C*, II, 71, 8) :
râjaputro mahâbâhur atitikshṇopaçobhitam |
bhadraṃ bhadreṇa yânena Mârutaḥ kham ivâ 'bhyayât || 7 ||.

(33) Tulasî Dâsa relates how Kaikeyî, seeing Bharata greatly disconcerted on hearing of Râma's banishment, tried to console him with words, the only result of which was to exasperate him more and more, like salt applied to a burn :

R. C. M., II, 161, 1:
bikala biloki sutahi samujhâvati | manahuṁ jare para lona lagâvati |

Now the example of the salt applied to a wound to indicate pain added to pain is found in the *R.* in Bharata's talk to Kaikeyî ; in fact, in both poems it occurs in the same situation, just as in both it refers to Bharata's grief :

B, II, 75, 15*a* :
vraṇe kshâraṃ vinikshiptaṃ duḥkhe duḥkhaṃ nipâtitam |
(*C*, II, 73, 3*a* :
duḥkhe me duḥkham akaror vraṇe kshârami vâ 'dadâḥ |).

(34) Tulasî Dâsa relates how Bharata in the couch of *kuça*, on which Râma and Sîtâ had slept under the tree at Çṛiṅgavera, discovered some *kanakabindavaḥ* from Sîtâ's ornaments and placed them reverently upon his head. The same discovery Bharata makes in the *R.*, and it is noteworthy that the two poems agree not only in that particular, but even in the use of the same term : *kanakabindu* :

B, II, 96, 16 (*C*, II, 88, 14) :	*R. C. M.*, II, 199, 3 :
manye sâbharaṇâ suptâ yathâ svabhavane purâ | tatra tatra hi dṛiçyante çîrṇâḥ kanakabindavaḥ || 16 ||.	kanaka-bindu dui chârika dekhe | râkhe sîsa Sîya sama lekhe |.

(35) Vâlmîki says that Bharata, on his way to the woods to take back Râma, in the *maitramuhûrta* (*viz.* in the third *muhûrta* from the rising of the sun), along with his retinue entered Prayâga after having crossed the Gaṅgâ. From this statement it can be inferred that the crossing of the river lasted two *muhûrtas*. Tulasî Dâsa keeps strictly close to Vâlmîki's computation of the time :

B, II, 97, 27 (*C*, II, 89, 21):	*R. C. M.*, II, 202, 9*a*:
sâ sarvâ dhvajinî Gaṅgâṃ dâsaiḥ saṃtâritâ tadâ | maitre muhûrte prayayau Prayâgavanam uttamam || 27 || .	daṇḍa[15] châri mahaṁ bhâ saba pârâ |; *R. C. M.*, II, 203, 9*a*: Bharata tîsare pahara kahaṁ kînha prabesa Prayâga | .

(36) Tulasî Dâsa narrates how Râma, at the sight of the sadness of the citizens in Bharata's retinue, took pity on them, and by embracing them all removed their grief ; and then admonishes his readers not to marvel at the Lord's power to embrace in a moment such an immense multitude (*R. C. M.*, II, 244, 1-4). Even this particular, pervaded as it seems by Tulasî Dâsa's peculiar mannerism, can be traced back to the following passage of the *R.* :

B, II, 111, 51 (*C*, II, 103, 47):
tân narân bâshpapûrṇâkshân samîkshya cha suduḥkhitân |
paryashvajata dharmajñaḥ pitṛivan mâtṛivach cha saḥ || 51 ||.

[15] A *daṇḍa* is about 24 minutes, *i. e.*, half the time of a *muhûrta*, which is about 48 minutes.

(37) The words with which Râma is informed of Daçaratha's death are qualified by Tulasî Dâsa as *kulisa-kaṭhora . . . kaṭu bânî* | (*R. C. M.*, II, 247, 5*a*): Vâlmîki in the corresponding passage has the same image of the thunderbolt, only more developed:

B, II, 111, 9-10 (*C*, II, 103, 2-3):

tam tu vajram ivo' tsṛishṭam âhave Dânavâriṇâ |
vâgvajram Bharateno 'ktam amanojñam niçamya tu || 9 ||
pragṛihya bâhû Râmo 'tha pushpitâgro drumo yathâ |
vane paraçunâ kṛittas tathâ bhûmau papâta saḥ || 10 ||.

(38) Bharata before taking any deliberation consults Râma's sandals:

B, II, 127, 13-17 (*C*, II, 115, 23-24):
tatas tu Bharataḥ çrîmân abhishichyâ'ryapâduke | sa bâlavyajanam tatra dhârayâmâsa cha svayam || 16 || pâduke tv abhishichyâ'tha Nandigrâme purottame | Bharataḥ çâsanam sarvam pâdukâbhyâm nyavedayat || 17 ||.

R. C. M., II, 325, 9-10:
nita pûjata prabhu-pâmvarî prîti na hṛidaya samâti | mâmgi mâmgi âyasu karata râja-kâja bahu bhâmti ||.

(39) The scratching of the ground with one's toes, which Tulasî Dâsa more than once mentions as a token of grief, is also found in the *R.* I quote for the comparison two passages from the *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa*:

B, II, 80, 15 (*C* wanting):
tam avâkçirasam bhûmim charaṇâgreṇa Râghavam | vilikhantam uvâchâ' rtam Vasishṭho bhagavân ṛishiḥ || 15 ||.

R. C. M., II, 281, 6*b*:
mahi nakha likhana lagîm saba sochana ||.

Araṇyakâṇḍa.

(40) Tulasî Dâsa begins the Araṇyakâṇḍa by saying that he has already sung the great affection shown by the citizens and Bharata, and that he will thenceforward sing the acts that Râma wrought in the forest. No doubt Tulasî Dâsa refers here to the *sarga* 105 of the *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa* in *B*, where Vâlmîki describes Râma's and Sîtâ's pastimes in a cave of the Chitrakûṭa and then the episode of the crow. Tulasî Dâsa joins the two parts together, condensing the first part within a single *chaupâî* and describing the second one at some length, but with great alterations. Here is the *chaupâî* replacing the first part of the *sarga*:

R. C. M., III, 1, 3-4:

eka bâra chuni kusuma suhâye | nija kara bhûshana Râma banâye |
Sîtahi pahirâye prabhu sâdara | baiṭhe phaṭika-silâ para sundara ||

With the few touches above Tulasî Dâsa sums up imperfectly the whole substance of the verses *B*, II, 105, 1-30, in which it is described how Râma, after showing Sîtâ the Chitrakûṭa and the Mandâkinî, entered with her into a cave in the mountain, sat down upon a rock (*çilâpaṭṭa*, *çilâ*) to take rest, and then placed the *tilaka* on her with his finger, which he had rubbed on a piece of arsenic, and adorned her hair with flowers.

The second part of the *sarga*, namely the episode of the crow (*B*, II, 105, 38-56), is narrated somewhat differently by Tulasî Dâsa. The crow for Tulasî Dâsa is none else than Jayanta, Indra's son, in the disguise of a bird. There is no mention of Jayanta in *B*, II, 105; but in another passage of the *R.* (common to *C*, *B*), where the same episode is repeated, we find Tulasî Dâsa's version, which is certainly a later interpretation of the episode:

B, V, 68, 9 (*C*, V, 67, 10):

sutaḥ kila sa Çakrasya vâyasaḥ patatâm varaḥ |

Tulasî Dâsa maintains the point of the loss of one eye, but does not explain it as Vâlmîki does, so that the fact looks strange and obscure in the *R. C. M.*, as a reader who is not acquainted with

the *R.* will not be able to see the precise reason for which the crow had to be deprived of one eye, but will think it a punishment in open contrast with the Lord's mercy, to which the crow had just appealed.

(41) In the *R.*, after Çarabhanga's ascent to heaven, a great multitude of ascetics flock to Râma from every side and implore his protection from the *râkshasas* who are infesting the forest. And in the course of their appeal they say to him :

B, III, 10, 17[b]-18[a] (*C*, III, 6, 16) :

ehi paçya çarîrâṇi munînâṃ bhâvitâtmanâm || 17 ||

hatânâṃ Râma rakshobhir bahûnâṃ bahudhâ vane |

Tulasî Dâsa catches the allusion given by Vâlmîki, and vivifies the image by making Râma actually see heaps of bones in the forest and ask the ascetics in his company about them :

R. C. M., III, 11, 6 :

asthi-samûhâ dekhi Raghurâyâ | pûchhâ muninha lâgi ati-dâyâ || .

(42) Agastya advises Râma to take up his abode in the Pañchavaṭî in order to protect the ascetics there :

B, III, 19, 21[b] = *C*, III, 13, 20[b] :

api châ 'tra vasan Râma tâpasân pâlayishyasi || 21 || .

R. C. M., III, 15, 17 :

bâsa karahu taham Raghu-kula-râyâ | kîjiya sakala muninha para dâyâ | .

(43) Çûrpaṇakhâ presents herself to Râma after having assumed a beautiful form and addresses him with a gentle smile:

B, III, 23, 25 (*C* wanting):

sâ 'bhigamya mahâbâhuṃ bhûtvâ vai kâmarûpiṇî | strîsvabhâvaṃ puraskṛitya sasmitaṃ vâkyam abravît || 25 ||

R. C. M., III, 19, 7 :

ruchira rûpa dhari prabhu pahiṁ jâî | bolî bachana bahuta musukâî

Mark how literal Tulasî Dâsa's rendering of the passage is.

(44) Tulasî Dâsa goes on to describe how Râma, upon hearing Çûrpaṇakhâ's proffer of herself, looked at Sîtâ, and then in reply advised the *râkshasî* to court Lakshmaṇa, who was still a bachelor. Though Râma's act of looking at Sîtâ might admit of various explanations, even without referring to the *R.* (see Baija Nâtha's commentary), yet there is no doubt that Tulasî Dâsa has borrowed it from Vâlmîki's corresponding passage :

B, III, 23, 45 (*C* wanting) :

etat tu vachanaṃ çrutvâ râkshasyâ hy atidâruṇam | îkshâṃ chakre tadâ Sîtâṃ Lakshmaṇaṃ cha mahâbhujaḥ || 45 || .

R. C. M., III, 19, 11[a] :

Sîtahi chitaï kahî prabhu bâtâ | .

(45) According to the *R.*, the *râkshasas* make two expeditions to avenge the disfigured Çûrpaṇakhâ : the first one of 14 men, the second one of 14,000 men. Tulasî Dâsa fuses both expeditions together into a single one of 14,000 men. Seeing the big *râkshasa* army nearing, Râma enjoins his brother to take Sîtâ into a cave. Lakshmaṇa obeys and starts at once with Sîtâ, taking his bow and arrows in his hand :

B, III, 30, 16 (*C*, III, 24, 15) :

evam uktas tu Râmeṇa Lakshmaṇaḥ saha Sîtayâ | çarân âdâya châpaṃ cha guhâṃ durgâm upâçrayat || 16 ||

R. C. M., III, 20, 12 :

rahehu sajuga suni prabhu kai bânî | chale sahita Çrî sara-dhanu-pânî ||

Then Râma arms himself. Vâlmîki says he puts on his armour and therewith shines like the rising sun which has dispelled the darkness. Tulasî Dâsa has the same image of the

rising sun, but does not explain it, *i.e.*, does not tell the reason of Râma's being compared to the sun :

B, III, 30, 18 (*C*, III, 24, 17): sa tenâ 'gnin:kâçena kavachena vibhûshitaḥ | rarâja Râmas timiraṃ vidhûyâ 'rka ivo 'ditaḥ || 18 ||	*R. C. M.*, III, 20, 19: . . . . . bâla-rabihiṁ gherata danuja |

The *râkshasas* become quite paralized with amazement at the sight of Râma's majesty:

B, III, 30, 38 (*C* wanting): drishṭvâ tu Râghavaṃ sarve râkshasâ yuddhadurmadâ ḥ | sthitâḥ parvatasaṃkâçâḥ paramaṃ vismayaṃ gatâḥ ||38||	*R. C. M.*, III, 21, 1: prabhu biloki sara sakahiṁ na ḍârî | thakita bhaî rajanîchara-dhârî |

The 14,000 *râkshasas* rain upon Râma weapons of every description :

B, III, 31, 6 (*C*, III, 25, 7): tatas taṃ bhîmakarmâṇaṃ kruddhâḥ sarve niçâcharîḥ | çastrair nânâvidhâkârair abhyavarshan sudurjayam ||6||.	*R. C. M.*, III, 21, 19-20: sâvadhâna hoi dhâye jâni sabala ârâti | lâge barashana Râma para astra sastra bahu bhâṁti ||.

(46) Tulasî Dâsa goes on saying that the *râkshasas* stricken by Râma's shafts fell to the ground like mountains. However natural may be the comparison of the monstrous bodies of the *râkshasas* to mountains, and however common it is both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.*, yet it seems to me that in the present passage of the *R. C. M.* such a comparison looks rather unjustified, and is not clear except by a reference to the corresponding passage in the *R.*, from which it is certainly derived :

B, III, 31, 25-26 (*C* wanting): kechid bâṇapravegais tu nirbhinnakavachâ raṇe | uchchair gaganam âviçya tato' gachchhan rasâtalam || 25 || mahâdri-çikharâ kârâṇ añjanâchalasaṃnibhân | khecharân pâtayâmâsa râkshasân dharaṇîtale || 26 ||.	*R. C. M.*, III, 22, 10: chikkarata lâgata bâna | dhara parata kudhara-samâna ||.

(47) Before describing the fight with the *râkshasas*, Vâlmîki says that the gods were in fear for Râma on seeing him facing 14,000 foes alone. Tulasî Dâsa maintains that particular, but puts it quite out of place, as he mentions it at a time when Râma has already nearly completed the destruction of the *râkshasas* :

B, III, 30, 20-21 (*C*, III 24, 23-24): tato devarshigandharvâḥ siddhâç cha saha châraṇaiḥ | ûchuḥ paramasaṃtrastâ guhyakâç cha parasparam || 20 || chaturdaça sahasrâṇi rakshasâṃ bhîmakarmaṇâm | ekaç cha Râmo dharmâtmâ kathaṃ yuddhaṃ bhavishyati || 21 ||.	*R. C. M.*, II, 22, 27 : sura ḍarata caudaha sahasa preta biloki eka Avadha-dhanî |.

(48) According to Vâlmîki, Râma hurled upon the *râkshasas* the *gândharvâstra*, which had the effect of dementing them in such a way that everyone saw the image of Râma in each of his comrades, and so they all perished killing each other. Tulasî Dâsa closely follows Vâlmîki's narrative :

B, III, 31, 46^b-47 (*C* wanting): tatas te râkshasâs tatra gândharvâstreṇa mohitâḥ || 46 || ayaṃ Râmas tv ayaṃ Râma iti kâlena choditâḥ | anyonyaṃ samare jaghnur utpatya paramâyudhaih || 47 ||	*R. C. M.*, III, 22, 28-30 : . . . mâyâ-nâtha ati-kautuka karyau | dekhahiṁ parasapara Râma kari saṃgrâma ripu-dala lari maryau || Râma Râma kahi tanu tajahiṁ pâvahiṁ pada nirbâna |

In the above passage from the *R. C. M.* it is said that the *râkshasas* die crying: *Râma! Râma!* Now if one looks at the Hindî text only, one will not be able to find out the exact reason

of the *râkshasas*'s crying: *Râma! Râma!* To ascertain it one must refer to the parallel passage in the *R.*, where it is plainly said that the *râkshasas*, believing that they saw Râma in every one of their companions, rush upon one another crying: *ayaṃ Râmo! 'yaṃ Râmaḥ!* ("this is Râma! this is Râma!"). That the Hindî passage is not clear without a reference to the *R.* is sufficiently proved by the fact that Mr. Growse quite misunderstood its meaning in his translation, which runs as follows: "the Lord .... having power over all illusion, wrought a prodigy and *while they were yet looking at one another he finished the battle* and the army of the enemy all perished fighting crying 'Râma Râma' as their soul left their body; they thus attained beatitude."

(49) Râvaṇa wants to secure Mârîcha's help for carrying off Sîtâ, but Mârîcha tries to dissuade him from provoking such a tremendous hero as Râma; and says he has already tasted in battle his strength as, when smitten by a single arrow of Râma, he was driven to a distance of a hundred *yojanas*; from that time on he has lived in continuous apprehension of Râma's appearing and wherever he looks he sees his terrible foe:

B, III, 43, 32-34 (*C*, III, 39, 15-17):	*R. C. M.*, III, 27, 7:
api Râmasahasrâṇi bhîtaḥ paçyâmi Râvaṇa | Râmabhûtam idaṃ sarvam aranyaṃ pratibhâti me || 32 || vrikshe vrikshe cha paçyâ ni chîrakrishṇâjinâmbaram | çarachâpadharaṃ Râmaṃ pâçahastam ivâ 'ntakam || 33 || Râmam evâ 'nupaçyâmi rahiteshv âkuleṣu cha | dṛishṭvâ svapnagato Râmam udbhramâmi vichetanaḥ || 34 ||.	bhaï mama kîṭa bhṛiga ki nâiṁ jahaṁ tahaṁ maiṁ dekhaüṁ dou bhâî |.

(50) In the *R.* Râvaṇa menaces Mârîcha with death, who declines to help him out of fear of Râma, and gives him to a choice: either a probable death at the hands of Râma, or a most certain death at his own hands, in case he should refuse to obey:

B, III, 44 31, (*C*, III, 40, 27):

âsâdya taṃ jîvitasaṃçayo vâ mṛityur dhruvas te 'dya mayâ virudhya | evaṃ yathâvad viga ṇayya buddhyâ yad rochate tat kuru yach cha pathyam || 31 ||

It is clear that Tulasî Dâsa had before his mind that alternative, when he wrote that Mârîcha resolved to obey, after having seen that either way he must die:

R. C. M., III, 28, 5:

ubhaya bhâṁti dekhâ nija maranâ | taba tâkesi Raghunâyaka-saranâ |.

(51) The apparition of the golden deer in the hermitage, Sîtâ's longing for its skin, Râma's pursuit of it, the flight and death of the deer and its calling out '*Lakshmaṇa! Lakshmaṇa!*' at the moment of dying, are narrated in quite identical terms both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.* As a specimen of Tulasî Dâsa's close dependence on Vâlmîki's narrative in this episode, I quote the parallel passages, describing the trick of the deer of keeping itself now near, now far, now in sight, now hidden, in order to take Râma lure away:

B, III, 50, 4-7a:	*R. C. M.*, III, 29, 12-13:
sa cha Râmabhayodvigno Mârîcho Daṇḍake vane || 4 || babhûvâ'ntarhitas tatra kshaṇât punar adṛiçyata | esho 'yam ayam etî'ti vegavân Râghavo yayau || 5 || muhûrtâd eva dadṛiçe muhûrtân na prakâçate | ativṛitta ishutrâsâl lobhayan sa Raghûttamam || 6 || kvachid dṛishṭaḥ kvachin naṣṭaḥ kvachit trâsâch cha vidrutaḥ |	kabahuṁ nikaṭa puni dûri parâî | kabahuṁka, pragaṭaï kabahuṁ chhapâî || pragaṭata durata karata chhala bhûrî | ehi bidhi prabhuhi gayaü-lei dûrî |.

(52) Tulasî Dâsa's description of the beauty of the Pampâ forest in the spring and of its effect on the mind of Râma, bereft of Sîtâ (III, 40-41), is derived from Vâlmîki's *sarga* *B*, III,

79 (*C*, IV, 1). In this *sarga* Vâlmîki, too, describes the beauty of the spring in the forest, where all nature loves and invites to love, whilst Râma's mind becomes more and more sad at the sight :

B, III, 79, 9-10[a] (*C*, IV, 1, 22-23[a]) :
vasantakâlaḥ prâpto'yaṃ nânâvihagakûjitaḥ |
viçâlâkshîvihînasya mama çokavivardhanaḥ || 9 ||
Saumitre mâṃ suduḥkhârtaṃ saṃtâpayati Manmathaḥ | . .

Tulasî Dâsa takes up this hint from Vâlmîki, and developes it by representing that the God of Love himself finds Râma tortured by separation, and encamps against him with his army ; and this gives him an occasion for describing at full length Love's army impersonated in spring (*R. C. M.*, III, 41).

(53) According to Tulasî Dâsa the Pampâ is a lake, not a river. Tulasî Dâsa lauds the purity of its water, agreeing thereby with Vâlmîki, who gives the Pampâ the constant epithets of *çubhajalâ*, *ramyavârivahâ*, *çîtajalâ*, etc.

Kishkindhâkâṇḍa.

(54) Râma presses to his bosom Sîtâ's upper garment (*uttarîya*) picked up by Sugrîva :

B., IV, 5, 16 (*C*, IV, 6, 18) :
hṛidi kṛitvâ tu bahuças tam alaṃkâram ârtavat | viniḥçvasaṃç cha bahuço bhujaṅga iva roshitaḥ || 16 || .

R. C. M., IV, 6, 6[b] :
paṭa ura lâi socha ati kînhâ ||.

(55) In the *R. C. M.*, Vâlin reproaches Râma of having killed him by surprise, as the huntsman kills his game :

R. C. M., IV, 10, 5[b] :
mârehu mohi byâdhâ kî nâîṁ |

No doubt the comparison has been suggested to Tulasî Dâsa by the following passage of the *R.* where Râma explains to Vâlin that, since he was nothing but a monkey, it was right on his part to kill him, as the huntsman kills his game :

B, IV, 17, 16-19 (*C*, IV, 18, 37[b]-40) :
vâgurâbhiç cha pâçaiç cha kûṭaiç cha vividhair narâḥ |
pratichchhannâç cha dṛiçyâç cha nighnanti sma bahûn mṛigân || 16 ||
pradhâvitân aviçvastân viçvastân apy avidrutân |
prasuptân aprasuptâṃç cha ghnanti mâṃsârthino mṛigân || 17 ||.
yânti râjarshayaç châ'tra mṛigayâṃ dharmakovidâḥ |
lipyante na cha doshena nighnanto 'pi mṛigân bahûn || 18 ||
tasmât tvaṃ nihato yuddhe mayâ bâṇena vânara |
ayudhyan pratiyudhyan vâ saumya çâkhâmṛigo hy asi || 19 ||.

(53) After killing Vâlin, Râma declines to enter Kishkindhâ, on the ground that he has promised not to enter any city or village for fourteen years. Then he enjoins Sugrîva to enter the city and make Aṅgada *yuvarâja* ; as for himself, he will take up his abode on the mountain close by and remain there till the rainy season, just commenced, is over :

B, IV, 25, 9 and ff. (*C*, IV, 26, 10 and ff.) :
chaturdaçasamâḥ saumya grâmaṃ vâ yadi vâ puram | na pravekshyâmi Hanuman pitur âdeça esha me || 9 || 10 || evam uktvâ Hanûmantaṃ Râmaḥ Sugrîvam abravît |. enam apy Aṅgadaṃ râjan yauvarâjye 'bhishechaya || 11 ||. prathamo vârshiko mâsaḥ Çrâvaṇaḥ salilâplutaḥ | pravṛittâḥ saumya chatvâro mâsâç cha vârshikâ ime || 12 || nâ'yam udyogasamayaḥ praviça tvaṃ purîm imâm | iha vatsyâmy ahaṃ saumya parvate niyatendriyaḥ || 13 ||.

R. C. M., IV, 13, 7[a-b] :
kaha prabhu sunu Sugrîvaṁ harîsâ | pura na jâuṁ dasa châri barîsâ | gata grîshama barashâ-ritu âî | rahihaüṁ nikaṭa saila para chhâî || Aṅgada sahita karahu tumha râjû |.

(57) Next comes the description of the rainy season, both in the *R.* and in the *R. C. M.* (*B*, IV, 27; *C*, IV, 28; *R. C. M.*, IV, 14-16). The phenomena of nature at this time of the year give Vâlmîki an opportunity for some beautiful similes between them and the persons in his poem; the same is the case with Tulasî Dâsa, only his similes are moral and theological. For example the lightning flashing amidst the clouds appears to Vâlmîki as Sîtâ being carried off by Râvaṇa, whilst to Tulasî Dâsa it looks like the friendship of the vile, which never lasts. Next comes the description of the autumn (*B*, IV, 29; *C*, IV, 30; *R. C. M.*, IV, 17-18).

(58) In the *R. C. M.* (IV, 25, 1) we find the statement that the monkeys sent in search of Sîtâ, wherever they met a *râkshasa*, killed him with a single buffet of their hand:

katahuṁ hoi nisichara soṁ bheṁṭâ | prâna lehiṁ eka eka chapeṭâ ||

No doubt Tulasî Dâsa generalizes here the fact of the *râkshasa* killed by Aṅgada in a mountain-cave with a blow of the palm of his hand ("*talenâ 'bhijaghâna*" *B*, IV, 48, 21; *C*, IV, 48, 20); in the *R.* there is no mention of the monkeys's coming across any other *râkshasa* on their way.

(59) Having failed to get tidings of Sîtâ, Aṅgada declines to turn back saying: "Should I return home without news of Sîtâ now that the term fixed for the return is over, Sugrîva would certainly put me to death. He has been my enemy for a long time and would be glad to profit by that transgression in order to take his revenge; it is not Sugrîva who made me *yuvarâja*, but Râma." Such is Vâlmîki's meaning in this passage, which Tulasî Dâsa reproduces quite unaltered as to the substance, though more concisely as to form:

B, IV, 53, 13-14 (*C*, IV, 53, 17b-18b):	*R. C. M.*, IV, 27, 4b-5:
na châ'haṃ yauvarâjye vai Sugrîveṇâ'bhishechitaḥ	narendre ṇâ 'bhishikto 'haṃ Râmeṇa viditâtmanâ || 13 || sa pûrvabaddhavairo mâṃ dṛishṭvâ râjâ vyatikramam | ghâtayishyati tîkshṇena daṇḍenâ 'tichirâd gatam || 14 ||.	uhâṁ gaye mârihi kapirâî || pitâ badhe para mârata mohî | râkhâ Râma nihora na ohî ||.

(60) The monkeys shed tears at hearing from Aṅgada that there is no escaping from death:

B, IV, 55, 17 (*C*, IV, 55, 17b-18a):	*R. C. M.*, IV, 27, 7:
tasya çrutvâ vachas tatra karuṇaṃ vânararsharbhâḥ | nayanebhyas tu sasṛijur netrajaṃ vâri duḥkhitâḥ || 17 ||.	Aṅgada-bachana sunata kapi-bîrâ | boli na sakahiṁ nayana baha nîrâ ||.

(61) At the sight of Sampâti, Aṅgada, thinking his life lost, accounts Jaṭâyu blessed for having given up his life in Râma's service and gone to heaven:

B, IV, 56, 12b-13a (*C*, IV, 56, 13):	*R. C. M.*, IV, 28, 7-8:
sukhito gṛidhrarâjas tu Râvaṇena hato raṇe || 12 || muktaç cha Sugrîvabhayâd gataç cha gatim uttamâm | *B*, IV, 56, 18b (*C* wanting): dhanyaḥ sa gṛdhrâdhipatir Jaṭâyuḥ. . . .	kaha Aṅgada bichâri mana mâhîṁ | dhanya Jaṭâyû sama kou nâhîṁ | Râma-kâja kârana tanu tyâgî | Hari-pura gayaü parama-baḍa-bhâgî ||.

(62) Sampâti says to the monkeys: "Take courage, according to Niçâkara's prophecy, you will succeed in finding Sîtâ. The restoring of my wings is the best evidence in favor of the truth of that prophecy":

B IV, 63, 15 (*C*, IV, 63, 12b-13a):	*R. C. M.*, IV, 30, 2:
sarvathâ kriyatâṃ yatnaḥ Sîtâm adhigamishyatha | pakshalambho mamâ'yaṃ vaḥ pratyakshaṃ saṃnidarçitaḥ || 15 ||.	mohi biloki dharahu mana dhîrâ | Râma-kṛipâ kasa bhayaü sarîrâ ||.

(63) The deliberations of the monkeys on the leaping across the Ocean (*B*, V, 1; *C*, IV, 64-65) are faithfully reproduced by Tulasî Dâsa with his usual conciseness. Jâmbavat regrets his old age and mentions a great achievement of his youth. Angada says he would leap across the hundred *yojanas*, but doubts as to his being able to leap back. Jâmbavat replies he is quite certain Angada would be equal to the feat, but it is not becoming to the chief to absent himself. Then Jâmbavat turns to Hanumat and asks him why he, being the son of the Wind and equal in strength to his father, keeps sitting apart silently instead of rising up and offering himself to accomplish the task:

C, IV, 66, 2^b and ff. (*B*, V, 2, 2^b):
tûshṇîm ekântam âçritya Hanûman kiṃ na jalpasi || 2 || Hanûman harirâjasya Sugrîvasya samo hy asi | . . . . || Mârutasyau'rasaḥ putras tejasâ châ'pi tatsamaḥ || tvaṃ hi vâyusuto vatsa plavane châ'pi tatsamaḥ || 30 || .

R. C. M, IV, 31, $3\text{-}4^a$.
kahaĩ richchha-pati sunu Hanumânâ | kâ chupa sâdhi raheu nâ-balavâ Pavana-tanaya bala pavana-samânâ || .

Sundarakâṇḍa.

(64) Hanumat thinks to himself: it will not be possible for him to enter the city, so well guarded by the *râkshasas*, in his natural form: he must enter it by night after having assumed a most diminutive form:

C, V, 2, 31 and ff. (*B*, V, 9, 31^b and ff.):
anena rûpeṇa mayâ na çakyâ rakshasâṃ purî | praveshṭuṃ râkshasair guptâ krûrair balasamanvitaiḥ || 31 || 32 || lakshyâlakshyeṇa rûpeṇa râtrau Lankâ purî mayâ | prâptakâlaṃ praveshṭuṃ me kṛityaṃ sâdhayituṃ mahat || 33 ||

R. C. M., V, 3, 24-25:
pura-rakhavâre dekhi bahu kapi mana kînha bichâra | ati-laghu rûpa dharaüṁ nisi nagara karaüṁ paisâra ||

The form assumed by Hanumat according to Tulasî Dâsa is that of a gnat (*maçaka*), and thus is afforded another argument in favor of those who take Vâlmîki's *vṛishadaṃçaka* in the parallel passage of the *R.* (*C*, V, 2, 47) to mean "gnat," differing thereby from Râmavarman who takes it to mean "cat" (*mârjâra*).

(65) When Hanumat tells Sîtâ he is Râma's messenger, Sîtâ wonders how such a union between men and monkeys could ever take place:

C, V, 35, 2^b (*B*, V, 32, 2^b):
vânarâṇâṃ narâṇâṃ ca katham âsît samâgamaḥ || 2 ||.

R. C. M., V, 13, 11^a:
nara bânarahi sanga kahu kaise | . .

(66) To punish Hanumat, who, on account of his being a messenger, cannot be killed, Râvaṇa gives order to set fire to his tail, a member monkeys are most proud of:

C, V, 53, 3^a (*B*, V, 49, 3^a):
kapînâṃ kila lângûlam ishṭaṃ bhavati bhûshaṇam | . .

R. C. M., V, 24, 10^a:
kapi kai mamatâ pûṁchhi para . . . .

(67) The citizens of Lankâ, terrified by the conflagration roused by Hanumat, cry out and call to each other:

C, V, 54, 40 (*B* wanting):
hâ tâta hâ putraka kânta mitra hâ jîviteçânga hataṃ supuṇyam | rakshobhir evaṃ bahudhâ bruvadbhiḥ çabdaḥ kṛito ghorataraḥ subhîtaḥ || 40 ||

R. C. M., V, 26, 3^a:
tâta mâtu hâ suniya pukârâ |

and say "this is no monkey, but some god in monkey disguise":

C, V, 54, 35-36 (*B* wanting):
vajrî Mahendras tridaçeçvaro vâ sâkshâd Yamo vâ Varuṇo 'nilo vâ | Raudro 'gnir Arko Dhanadaç cha Somo na vânaro'yaṃ swayam eva Kâlaḥ || 35 || kiṃ Brahmaṇaḥ sarvapitâmahasya lokasya dhâtuç chaturânanasya | ihâ 'gato vânararûpadhârî rakshopasaṃhârakaraḥ prakopaḥ || 36 || kiṃ Vaishṇavaṃ vâ . . . *âdi*.

R. C. M, V, 26, 4:
hama jo kahâ yaha kapi nahiṁ hoî || bânara-rûpa[17] dhare sura hoî ||

[17] Note how the *bânara-rûpa dhare* perfectly corresponds to the *vânararûpadhârî*.

After having set Lankâ on fire, Hanumat throws himself into the sea to extinguish his flaming tail:

C, V, 54, 49 (*B* wanting):

Lankâm samastâm sampîdya lângûlâgnim mahâkapih | nirvâpayâmâsa tadâ samudre haripungavah || 49 ||

R. C. M., V, 26, 8-9:

ulati palati Lankâ saba jârî | kûdi parâ puni sindhu mamjhârî || pûmchi bujhâi . . .

All the above particulars are wanting in *B*, where we miss the verses *C*, V, 54, 31-50.

(68) Sîtâ sends word to Râma that away from him she may live another month, but no longer:

C, V, 38, 64-65[a] (*B*, V, 36, 69):

idam brûyâç cha me nâtham çûram Râmam punah punah | jîvitam dhârayishyâmi mâsam Daçarathâtmaja || 64 || ûrdhvam mâsân na jîveyam satyenâ'ham bravîmi te | . . .

R. C. M., V, 27, 6:

mâsa divasa mahum nâtha na âvâ | tau puni mohi jiyata nahim pâvâ ||.

(69) Râma clasps to his heart the jewel that Sîtâ has sent him through Hanumat, and bursting into tears asks the monkey what is Sîtâ's message to him:

C, V, 66, 1[b] and ff. (*B*, V, 67, 1 and ff):

tam manim hridaye kritvâ ruroda sahalakshmanah || 1 || tam tu drishtvâ maniçreshtham Râghavah çokakarçitah | netrâbhyâm açrupûrnâbhyâm Sugrîvam idam abravît || 3 || . . . || kim âha Sîtâ Vaidehî brûhi saumya punah punah | . . . || 8 || . . . . || kimâha Sîtâ Hanuman . . . . | . . . . . || 14 || . . .

R. C. M., V, 31, 1[b]-2:

Raghupati hridaya lâi soi lînhî | nâtha jugala lochana bhari bârî | bachana kahe kachhu Janaka-kumârî ||.

(70) Râma regrets he is not able to adequately recompense Hanumat for his great service:

B, V, 70, 11 and ff. (*C*, VI, 1, 12 and ff):

ekam tu mama dînasya mano bhûyah prakarshati | yad asyâ 'ham priyâkhyâne na karomi sadrik priyam || 11 || evam samchintya bahudhâ Râghavah prîtamânasah |nirîkshya suchiram prîtyâ Hanûmantam uvâcha ha || 12 || 13 || ity uktvâ bâshpapûrnâksho Râghavah . . . .

R. C. M., V, 32, 6-8:

pratiupakâra karaüm kâ torâ | sanamukha hoi na sakata mana morâ || sunu suta tohi urina maim nâhîm | dekheum kari bichâra mana mâhîm | puni puni kapihi chitava suratrâtâ | lochana nîra pulaka ati gâtâ ||

The comparison with *C* is less persuasive, a fact which is quite exceptional; for, as we have seen, Tulasî Dâsa never follows two recensions at a time.

(71) Vibhîshana seeks refuge with Râma. Sugrîva (and others, according to Vâlmîki,) advises Râma not to accept him, for he must certainly be a spy from Râvana. But Râma replies that he cannot reject any one taking refuge with him, however guilty he might be:

C, VI, 18, 3 (*B*, V, 90, 36):

mitrabhâvena samprâptam na tyajeyam kathamchana | dosho yady api tasya syât satâm etad vigarhitam || 3 ||

R. C. M., V, 44, 1:

koti bipra-badha lâgahi jâhû | âye sarana tajaüm nahim tâhû ||

he has made a vow to protect all suppliants:

C, VI, 18, 33 (*B*, V, 91, 14):

sakrid eva prapannâya tavâ'smî'ti cha yâchate | abhayam sarvabhûtebhyo dadâmy etad vratam mama || 33 ||

R. C. M., V, 43, 8:

mama pana saranâgata-bhaya-hârî ||.

and on the other hand, even supposing that the *râkshasa* Vibhîshana had been sent by Râvana with hostile intentions, why should Râma fear him?

C, VI, 18, 22-23 (*B*, V, 91, 2-3):

sa dushto vâ'py adushto vâ kim esha rajanîcharah | sûkshmam apy ahitam kartum mama çaktah kathamchana || 22 || piçâchân dânavân yakshân prithivyâm chai'va râkshasân | angulyagrena tân hanyâm ichchhan hariganeçvara || 23 ||

R. C. M., V, 44, 6-7:

bheda lena pathavâ Dasasîsâ | tabahum na kachhu bhaya hâni kapîsâ || jaga mahum sakhâ nisâchara jete | Lachhimanu hanaï nimisa mahum tete |

Here Tulasî Dâsa substitutes Lakshmaṇa for Râma in the last part of the passage, but the meaning is the same.

(72) The Ocean apologizes for its delay in obeying Râma, by laying all the fault upon the inertia of the five elements

C, VI, 22, 23 (*B*, V, 94, 5):	*R. C. M.*, V, 59, 2:
pṛithivî vâyur âkâçam âpo jyotiç cha Râghava | svabhâve saumya tishṭhanti çâçvataṃ mârgam âçritâḥ || 23 ||.	gagana samîra anala jala dharanî | inha kaï nâtha sahaja jaḍa karanî ||

Yuddhakâṇḍa.

(in the *R. C. M.*: Laṅkâkâṇḍa.)

(73) In the R. *C. M.* (VI, 9, 8-9) Prahasta admonishes Râvaṇa not to listen to his counsellors, who, to please him, give him pernicious advice, and quotes a saying, which is found in a quite analogous passage of the *R.*,, where Vibhîshaṇa gives Râvaṇa the same admonition

C, 61, VI, 21 (*B*, V, 88, 16):	*R. C. M.*, VI, 9, 8-9:
sulabhâḥ purushâ râjan satataṃ priyavâdinaḥ | apriyasya cha pathyasya vaktâ çrotâ cha durlabhaḥ || 21 || .	priya-bânî je sunahiṁ je kahahîṁ | aise nara nikâya jaga ahahîṁ || bachana parama-hita sunata kathore | sunahiṁ je kahahiṁ te nara prabhu thore | .

(74) At the moment of narrating how the monkeys's host crossed over on the bridge, Tulasî Dâsa says that Râma mounted a height and thence gazed upon the vast sheet of water, whereupon all the living beings of the sea came to the surface to behold the Lord (*R. C. M.*, VI, 4). Shortly afterwards Tulasî Dâsa relates that Râma pitched his tent on the opposite shore of the Ocean and told the monkeys they could go and feed on fruits and roots (*R. C. M.*, VI, 5). Both particulars fail in the *R.* and look as if they had been entirely invented by Tulasî Dâsa. If we examine attentively the parallel passage in the *R.*, however, we shall find there two particulars, which might well be presumed to have given Tulasî Dâsa the idea of his invention:

C, VI, 22, 74*a* (*B*, V, 95, 43):

dadṛiçuḥ sarvabhûtâni sâgare setubandhanam |

C, VI, 22, 83 (*B* wanting):

vânarâṇâṃ hi sâ tîrṇâ vâhinî Nalasetunâ |
tîre niviviçe râjñâ bahumûlaphalodake || 83 ||

I see no difficulty in considering that Tulasî Dâsa derived the first of the two above innovations from Vâlmîki's statement that all the marine beings beheld the building of the bridge, and the second from the epithet of *bahumûlaphalodaka* given by Vâlmîki to the opposite shore of the Ocean.

(75) Tulasî Dâsa (VI, 11-13) relates that Râma ascends the Suvela, where looking towards the east he sees the moon, and asks those who are around him their opinion concerning its spots. Then, turning to the south, he has the illusion of seeing a mass of clouds with flashes of lightning and thunder; but Vibhîshaṇa explains to him that there is nothing of the kind: what he takes for clouds is the royal umbrella of Râvaṇa, who is sitting on the top of the palace; what he takes for flashes of lightning are the flashes of Mandodarî's earrings; and what he takes for thunder is the sound of the drums. Râma fits an arrow to his bow and strikes down Râvaṇa's umbrella and crowns along with Mandodarî's earrings. Any reader, however well acquainted with the *R.*, will hold that there is nothing like this in it. In a passage of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa*, however, I have succeeded in discovering the source of this

innovation by Tulasî Dâsa.[18] It is the *sarga* C, VI, 40 (failing in (*A*), *B*), where Vâlmîki inserts an episode which, though appearing at first sight to greatly differ from that of Tulasî Dâsa, yet has a very close analogy with the latter. Râma ascends the Suvela with his retinue (*C*, VI, 40, 1) and thence turns his eyes to the ten cardinal points (40,2) and sees Lankâ, above which Râvaṇa is sitting on the top of the *gopura* (40, 3).

The first epithets with which Vâlmîki describes Râvaṇa here are: *çvetachâmaraparyanta* and *vijayachchhatraçobhita* (40, 4), next come also the epithets: *nîlajîmûtasaṃkâça hemasaṃchhâditâmbara* (40, 5), and lastly the simile:

saṃdhyâtapena saṃchhannaṃ megharâçim ivâ 'mbare || 6 ||

In my judgment there can be no doubt as to Tulasî Dâsa's having derived from the above description by Vâlmîki the first part of his innovation, *viz.*, Râma's illusion of actually taking Râvaṇa and his umbrella for a mass of clouds.

Then Vâlmîki goes on saying that Sugrîva, as soon as he saw Râvaṇa, leaped upon him and tore the crown from his head and dashed it to the ground:

ity uktvâ sahaso 'tpatya pupluve tasya cho 'pari |
âkṛishya mukuṭaṃ chitraṃ pâtayâmâsa tad bhuvi || 11 ||

And this is certainly the source of the second part of Tulasî Dâsa's innovation, *viz.*, of Râma's striking down with an arrow Râvaṇa's umbrella and crowns (along with Mandodarî's earrings). Tulasî Dâsa, who always strives to exalt Râma as much as possible, has deemed it convenient to ascribe to him even this feat, which in the *R.* is performed by Sugrîva, and in consequence has been forced to change the particular of the leap and wrestle (convenient for the monkey, but not for Râma) into that of the arrow.

As for the ascension of the Suvela mountain and the consequent view of the rising moon, I think both of them are derived from *sarga C*, VI, 38 (*B*, VI, 14), where Vâlmîki, too, describes the ascension of the mountain and the fall of the night illuminated by the full moon (*C*, VI, 38, 13; *B*, VI, 14, 24).

(76) Mandodarî tries to persuade Râvaṇa to give up fighting against Râma:—it cannot be an ordinary man that slew Virâdha, Khara, Triçiras and Kabandha and killed Vâlin with a single arrow:

B, VI, 33, 23b and ff. (*C* wanting):	*R. C. M.*, VI, 36, 14-15:
Kharaç cha nihataḥ saṃkhye tadâ Râmo na mânushaḥ || 26 || Triçiraç cha Kabandhaç cha Virâdho Daṇḍake hataḥ | çareṇai 'kena Bâlî ca tadâ Râmo na mânushaḥ || 27 ||.	badhi Birâdha Khara Dûkhanahiṃ-lîlâ hateu Kabandha | Bâli eka sara mâreu tehi jânahu Dasakandha ||.

(77) Râma laments over Lakshmaṇa, whom he thinks to be dead, whilst he has simply fainted, and says:—other wives, other sons, other kinsmen can be easily procured, but another uterine brother cannot be found in the world:

B, VI, 24, 7b-8a (*C* wanting):	*R. C. M.*, VI, 61, 7-8b:
yatra kvachid bhaved bhâryâ putro 'nye 'pi cha bândhavâḥ || 7 || taṃ tu deçaṃ na paçyâmi yatra sodaryam âpnuyâm |	suta bita nâri bhavana parivârâ | hohiṃ jâhiṃ jaga bârahiṃ bârâ |...| milaï na jagata sahodara[19] bhrâtâ ||

[18] Even if Tulasî Dâsa should have derived it from some of his secondary sources, rather than from the *R.* directly, the passage in the *R.* in question must be looked upon as the ultimate source.

[19] Mark the correspondence: *sodarya*=*sahodara*.

Then Râma asks himself:—what answer shall I give Sumitrâ, when she asks me about Lakshmaṇa on my return to Ayodhyâ?

B, VI, 24, 12^b (*C*, VI, 49, 8^b):	*R. C. M*, VI, 61, 16^a:
Sumitrâṃ kin nu vakshyâmi putradarçanalâlasâm || 12 ||.	utaru kâha daihaüṁ tehi jâî |.

(78) In Kumbhakarṇa's episode Tulasî Dâsa follows Vâlmîki very closely. Leaving aside the parallel of the particulars of the narrative, I limit myself to quoting only two parallel similes, which for us are much more significant, inasmuch as Tulasî Dâsa generally disdains to avail himself of the same similes as have been used by Vâlmîki.

Tulasî Dâsa compares Kumbhakarṇa, when roused, to a personification of Kâla:

R. C. M., VI, 62, 7:

jâgâ nisichara dekhiya kaisâ | mânahuṁ Kâla deha dhari baisâ |

The same comparison we find in the *R.*, where it is said that the gods stood amazed before Kumbhakarṇa, taking him to be Kâla himself:

B, VI, 38, 11 (*C*, VI, 42, 11):

çûlapâṇinam âyântaṃ Kumbhakarṇaṃ mahâbalam |
hantuṃ na çekus tridaçâḥ Kâlo 'yam iti mohitâḥ || 11 ||

The situation is somewhat different, but the image is the same. The second simile, common to Vâlmîki and Tulasî Dâsa, is the comparing of the bleeding Kumbhakarṇa to a mountain overflowing with streams:

B, VI, 46, 75 (*C*, VI, 67, 89):	*R. C. M.*, VI, 69, 7:
karṇanâsâvihînas tu Kumbhakarṇo mahâbalaḥ | rarâja çoṇitotsekair giriḥ prasravaṇair iva || 75 ||	sonita sravata soha tana kâre | janu kajjala-giri geru-panâre ||.
B, VI, 46, 108^b-109^a (*C*, VI, 67, 121):	
sa bâṇair atividdhâṅgaḥ kshatajena samukshitaḥ || 108 || rudhiraṃ parisusrâva giriḥ prasravaṇair iva || . . .	

(79) The spear, with which Râvaṇa throws down Lakshmaṇa, striking him full in the breast, is described by Vâlmîki as:

çaktiḥ samaraprachaṇḍâ Svayambhûdattâ (B, VI, 36, 83; *C*, VI, 59, 105)

which epithets Tulasî Dâsa maintains unaltered:

Brahma-datta prachaṇḍa sakti (*R. C. M.*, VI, 83, 9).

(80) In the *R.* Hanumat falls upon Râvaṇa, who is trying to carry away the unconscious Lakṣmaṇa, and strikes him with his fist, as if with a thunderbolt. Tulasî Dâsa maintains the particular of the fist and amplifies the simile of the thunderbolt:

B, VI, 36, 91 (*C*, VI, 59, 112):	*R. C. M.*, VI, 84, 2:
Lakshmaṇaṃ tu tataḥ çrîmân jighṛikshantaṃ sa Mârutiḥ | âjaghâno'rasi vyûḍhe vajrakalpena mushṭinâ || 91 ||.	muṭhikâ eka tâhi kapi mârâ pareu saila janu bajra-prahârâ ||.

(81) The gods are anxious on Râma's account, seeing him on foot whilst Râvaṇa is driving his chariot, and Indra despatches to him his own chariot guided by Mâtali:

B, VI, 86, 6-7 (*C*, VI, 102, 5 and ff.):	*R. C. M.*, VI, 89, 1-2:
bhûmau sthitasya Râmasya rathasthasya ca rakshasaḥ | na samaṃ yuddham ity âhur devagandharvadânavâḥ || 6 || devatânâṃ vachaḥ çrutvâ Çatakratur anantaram | preshayâmâsa Râmâya rathaṃ Mâtalisârathim || 7 ||.	devanha prabhuhiṁ payâde dekhâ | upajâ ura ati-chhobha bisekhâ | surapati nija-ratha turata paṭhâvâ | harasha-sahita Mâtali lei âvâ ||

simultaneous arrival of the 'seven streams' of the rainy season, of the demon, Vṛttra, and of Indra, the god of the seventh intercalary month, for the destruction of the demon of the intercalary months.

The Vedic poets seem to have entertained two kinds of conceptions about the intercalary months; one evil and another good. Indra, Mârtaṇḍa, and other sons of Aditi seem to have represented the good side of the months, while Vṛitra, 'Sambara, and other demons are regarded as the personification of the evil nature of the intercalary months. If there still remains any doubt about this point, the following passage of the *Maitrâyaîṇya Saṁhitâ* (II. 4, 3, 4) will probably help to remove it:—

ततो यस्सोमोऽत्यरिच्यत तमग्ना उपप्रावर्तयत् । स्वाहेंद्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्व इतींद्रस्याहैनं शत्रुमाचिकीर्षद्रिंद्रमस्य शत्रुमकरोत्. तथा वाक्स्वयमेव व्यैत्स यं सोमं प्रावर्तयद्यस्मिंश्चाग्ना उपप्रावर्तयत्ता अग्नीषोमौ देवते प्राणापाना अभिसमभताम्. स यावदूर्ध्वबाहुः पराविध्यत्तावति व्यरमत. यदि वा प्रवणं तावदासीद्यदि वाग्नेरधि तावदासीत्स वा इषुमात्रमेवाह्ना तिर्यङ्ङ्वर्धतेषुमात्रमेवान्वङ्ङ्थो आहुरहोरात्रे एवेषुमात्रं तिर्यङ्ङ्वर्धतेषुमात्रमन्वङ्ङित्यथो आहुरर्धमासमथो मासमथो संवत्सरमिति. स वा इमाः सर्वाः स्रोत्याः पर्यशयत्तस्माद्वा इंद्रोऽबिभेत्तस्माद् त्वष्टाबिभेत्तस्येंद्रः प्रत्तिमैच्छत्तमस्म प्रायच्छत्. तस्मै त्वष्टा वज्रमसिंचत्तपो वै स वज्र आसीत्तमुद्यमं नाशक्नोदथ वै तर्हि विष्णुरन्या देवतासीत्सोऽब्रवीद्विष्णा एहि इदमाहरिष्यावो येनायमिदमिति. स त्रेधात्मानं विन्यधत्ताभिपर्यान्ततादबिभेदस्यां तृतीयमंतरिक्षे तृतीयं दिवि तृतीयं. स यदस्यां तृतीयमासीत्तेन वज्र मुदयच्छद्विष्ण्वनुष्ठितः. स वज्रमुद्यतं दृष्ट्वाबिभेत्सोऽब्रवीदस्ति वा इदं त्वयिस्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामि मा मा वधीरिति. तद्वा अस्मै प्रायच्छत्. तत्प्रत्यगृह्णात् । अथा मा इति तद्विष्णवेऽतिप्रायच्छत्. तद्विष्णुः प्रत्यगृह्णात् । अस्मास्विंद्र इंद्रियं दधात्वस्मात्रायो मघवानः सचंताम् । अस्माकं संत्वाशिषः ।. इति सोऽवेदस्ति वा वास्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यमिति. स यदंतरिक्षे तृतीयमासीत्तेन वज्रमुदयच्छद्विष्ण्वनुष्ठितः. स वज्रमुद्यतं दृष्ट्वाबिभेत्सोऽब्रवीदस्ति वा इदं त्वयिस्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामि मा मा वधीरिति. तद्वा अस्मै प्रायच्छत् प्रत्यगृह्णात्. द्विर्माधाः इति तद्विष्णवेऽतिप्रायच्छत्. त द्विष्णुः प्रत्यगृह्णात्. अस्मास्विंद्र इंद्रियं दधात्वस्मात्रायो मघवानः सचंताम् । अस्माकं संत्वाशिषः. इति सोऽवेदस्ति वा वास्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यमिति. स यद्दिवि तृतीयमासीत्तेन वज्रमुदयच्छद्विष्ण्वनुष्ठितः. स वज्रमुद्यतं दृष्ट्वाबिभेत्सोऽब्रवीदस्ति वा इदं त्वयिस्मिन्नंतर्वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामि मा मा वधीः. संधां नु संदधावहै यथा त्वामेव प्रविशानीति. सोऽब्रवीद्यन्मां प्रविशेः किं मे ततः स्यादिति. सोऽब्रवीत्वामेवेंधीय तव भोगाथ त्वां प्रविशेयमिति. तद्वा अस्मै प्रायच्छत्. तत्प्रत्यगृह्णात्. त्रिर्माधाः इति तद्वाव त्रैधातव्या सहस्रं वा अस्मै तत्प्रायच्छत्. ऋचः सामानि यजूंषि यद्वा इदं किंच तत्त्रैधातव्या तदाप्नोति पशूनेव. M. S. II, 4, 3.

उदरं वै वृत्रः पाप्मा क्षुद्भ्रातृव्यः पुरुषस्य. यत्तप उपैति पाप्मानं वा एतत्स्तृणुते भ्रातृव्यं क्षुधमेव तस्मिन्वा अवदेतां सयमस्या अध्यूर्ध्वा वागवदत्. उभा जिग्यथुर्न पराजयेथे न पराजिग्ये कतरश्च नैनोः । M. S. II, 4, 4.

"Then what Sôma there remained, he poured it into the fire, and said rather in favour of Indra than Agni: 'Grow with Indra as thy enemy.' He wanted Agni to be Indra's enemy; but he made Indra the enemy of Agni: for his expression itself came out (*with that meaning*). Both the Sôma he pressed and the Sôma he put into the fire became the two deities Agni and Sôma, and also the two vital airs, Prâṇa and Apâna (*air inhaled and air exhaled*). No sooner did this dual god with his arm raised up attempt to strike Indra, then he himself fell down. Whether when the dual deity fell down, or when he was inside the fire (*it cannot be said*),—he, however, began to grow breadthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day, and also lengthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day. They say, that day and night themselves grew breadthwise by the measure of an arrow and also lengthwise by the measure of an arrow. They say that then the half-months (*grew*); then the month; and then the year. Then this dual deity lay covering all these streams. Indra became afraid of him; Tvashṭri also feared him. Indra requested the help of Tvashṭri. The latter promised help: he sprinkled the thunderbolt (*with water*) for him. Tapas [the month so called] is, verily, the thunderbolt. Indra could not raise it. Then there was another god, Vishṇu, near. Indra said: 'Come, Vishṇu, let us catch hold of this by which this (*is done*).' Vishṇu stretched his body in three directions, one-third portion on the earth, one-third in the air, and one-third in the heaven, so that Indra might get rid of his fear from the universal growth of the dual deity. Followed by Vishṇu, Indra raised the thunderbolt against the one-third part of the dual deity lying on this earth. Seeing the thunder-

bolt raised, he became afraid of it, and said : 'There is in me some power and I shall give it to you. Do not kill me!' He gave it to Indra, and the latter took it, and gave it to Vishṇu saying 'keep it for me.' Vishṇu took it and thought : 'May Indra put vital force into us ; may Indra bring prosperity to us ; may there be blessings upon us ; for there is internal power in him.' Followed by Vishṇu, Indra raised the thunderbolt against the one-third part that lay in the air. Seeing the raised thunderbolt, he became afraid of it, and said : 'There is some power in me and I shall give it to you. Do not kill me!' He gave it to Indra, and Indra took it and gave it to Vishṇu, saying 'keep this for me a second time.' Vishṇu took it, thinking : 'May Indra put vital force into us ; may Indra bring prosperity to us ; may there be blessings upon us ; for there is internal power in him.' Followed by Vishṇu, Indra raised the thunderbolt against the one-third part that lay in the sky. Seeing the raised thunderbolt, he became afraid of it, and said : 'There is some power in me and I shall give it to you. Do not kill me ; let us make peace : I shall enter into you.' Indra said : 'If you enter into me, of what use will it be to me?' He said : 'I shall brighten yourself ; I shall enter into you for your own enjoyment.' (*So saying*) he gave it to Indra, and Indra took it and gave it to Vishṇu, saying : 'Keep this for me for a third time.' It (the power) is, verily, a thousand of what are called Tridhâtus (three elements). He gave it to Vishṇu. The Ṛiks, the Sâmas, the Yajus, and whatever else there is, all that belongs to the three elements. Hence he obtains cattle alone."

"Vṛitra is the belly ; and sin is hunger, the enemy of man. When man obtains Tapas, he rends the sin, the inimical hunger. This is what the heavenly utterance said : 'Both of them conquered, but never sustained defeat ; and no one defeated either of them (*Indra and Vishṇu.*)'"

We are told in the above passage that Vṛitra grew out of the remnant of Sôma and that he grew first in the form of a day, then of half a month, then of a month, and at last of a year. Thus Vṛitra is clearly identified with Time. Special attention should be paid to those sentences of the passage which clearly declare : 'Vṛitra began to grow breadthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day and also lengthwise by the measure of an arrow in the course of a day. They say that *day and night themselves grew* by the measure of an arrow, and became half-months, months, and a year.' It is clear therefore that Vṛitra is a demon infesting the intercalary months, or rather of the eighth intercalary month, since Indra who destroys him periodically is, as we have seen above, the god of the seventh intercalary month of the luni-solar cycle of five years. Since Vṛitra is made to 'enter into Indra himself,' it is clear that he is the broken eighth month coming after the seventh month.

I have pointed out in my *Vedic Calendar* how the Vedic poets regarded the intercalary days as being sinful and inimical to man. In the above passage Vṛitra is spoken of as a kind of sin and enemy to man. We have already seen how Agni and Sôma are considered as the gods of the light half of an intercalary month. In the following passage of the Taittirîya Saṁhitâ (II. 5, 2) Agni and Sôma are clearly described as the life-principles of Vṛitra. It follows therefore that Vṛitra must be the light half of an intercalary month. Since Vṛitra is periodically destroyed by Indra, the god of the seventh intercalary month, and since he is made one with Indra himself, it is also clear that Vṛitra is the first half of the broken eighth intercalary month. The reference to cold and fever in the passage seems to indicate the arrival of the rainy season. The passage itself runs as follows :—

त्वष्टा हतपुत्रो वींद्रं सोममाहरत्. तस्मिन्निंद्र उपहवमैच्छत. तं नोपाह्वयत पुत्रं मेऽवधीरिति. स यज्ञवेशसं कृत्वा प्रासहा सोममपिबत्. तस्य यदत्यशिष्यत तत् त्वष्टाहवनीयमुपप्रावर्तयत्स्वाहेंद्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्वेति. यदवर्तयत् तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वं. यदब्रवीत् स्वाहेंद्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्वेति तस्मादस्य इंद्रः शत्रुरभवत्. स संभवन्नग्नीषोमावभिसमभवत्. स इषुमात्रमिषुमात्रं विष्वङ्ङवर्धत. स इमाल्लोकानावृणोत्. तद्वृत्रस्य वृत्रत्वं. तस्मादिंद्रोऽबिभेत्. स प्रजापतिमुपाधावत् शत्रुर्मेऽजनीति. तस्मै वज्रं सिक्त्वा प्रायच्छदेतेन जहीति. तेनाभ्यायत. तावब्रूतामग्नीषोमौ मा प्रहाराव मंतः स्व इति. मम

वै युवं स्थ इत्यब्रवीत् मामभ्येतमिति. तौ भागधेयमैच्छेताम्, ताभ्यामेतमग्नीषोमीयमेकादशकपालं पूर्णमासे प्रायच्छत्. तावब्रूतामभिसंदष्टौ वै स्वो न शक्नुव एतुमिति. स इंद्र आत्मनः शीतरूरावजनयत्. तच्छीतरूर्वोर्जन्म. य एवं शीतरूर्वोर्जन्म वेद नैनं शीतरूरौ हतः. ताभ्यामेनमभ्यनयत्. तस्माज्जञ्जभ्यमानादग्नीषोमौ निरक्रामताम्. प्राणापानौ वा एनं तदजाहिताम्. प्राणो वै दक्षोऽपानः क्रतुः. तस्माज्जञ्जभ्यमानो ब्रूयान्मयि दक्षक्रतू इति. प्राणापानावेवात्मन्धत्ते. सर्वमायुरेति. स देवता वृत्रान्निर्हूय वार्त्रघ्नं हविः पूर्णमासे निरवपत्. घ्नंति वा एनं पूर्णमास आ अमावास्यायां प्यायंति तस्माद्वार्त्रघ्नी पूर्णमासेऽनूच्येते वृधन्वती अमावास्यायाम्. तत् संस्थाप्य वार्त्रघ्नं हविर्वज्रमादाय पुनरभ्यायत तेऽब्रूतां द्यावापृथिवी माप्रहारावयोर्वै श्रित इति. तेऽब्रूतां वरं वृणावहै नक्षत्रविहिताहमसानीत्यसावब्रवीच्चित्रविहिताहमिति. इयं तस्मान्नक्षत्रविहितासौ चित्रविहितेयं य एवं द्यावापृथिव्योर्वरं वेदैनं वरो गच्छति. स आभ्यामेव प्रसूत इंद्रो वृत्रमहन्. ते देवा वृत्रं हत्वाग्नीषोमावब्रुवन् हव्यं नो वहतमिति. तावब्रूतामपतेजसौ वै त्यौ वृत्रे वै त्ययोस्तेज इति. तेऽब्रुवन् क इदमाच्छैतीति. गौरित्यब्रुवन् गौर्वाव सर्वस्य मित्रमिति. साब्रवीत् वरं वृणै मय्येव सतोभयेन भुनजाध्वा इति तद्गौराहरत्. तस्माद्गवि सतोभयेन भुञ्जते एतद्वा अग्नेस्तेजो यद्घृतमेतत् सोमस्य यत्पयः य एवमग्नीषोमयोस्तेजो वेद तेजस्व्येव भवति. ब्रह्मवादिनो वदंति किन्देवत्यं पौर्णमासमिति. प्राजापत्यमिति ब्रूयात्. तेनेंद्रं ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं निरवासययदिति. तस्माज्ज्येष्ठ पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययंति. T. S. II. 5, 2.

"Tvashṭri whose son was killed (*by Indra*) began to perform a Sôma sacrifice without inviting Indra to it. But Indra wanted to be invited to it. But he did not invite Indra, because the latter killed his son. But Indra drank the Sôma by force after obstructing the sacrifice. Tvashṭri poured (*prâvartayat*) into the fire what Sôma here remained, and said (*addressing the fire*) : 'Grow with Indra as thy enemy.' Vṛitra [the demon that rose from the fire in consequence of the above libation] is so called, because the act of pouring down Sôma into the fire is from the root *Vṛit*. Since he said : 'Grow with Indra as thy enemy', Indra became his enemy. While coming out of the fire, he (Vṛitra) became Agni and Sôma. By the measure of an arrow, he grew on all sides and pervaded these three worlds. Because he pervaded them, he is called Vṛitra, 'pervader.' Indra became afraid of him, and going to Prajâpati, said : 'there has arisen an enemy to me.' Having sprinkled the thunderbolt with water, he gave it to him to kill the demon. Indra advanced with the thunderbolt. Then Agni and Sôma said : 'Do not kill; we are within (*him*). Indra said : 'You are for me ; and so, come to me.' They asked for a share (*in the sacrifice*). Indra promised to them a cake on eleven pot-sherds, to be offered to them every full-moon. They said : 'We are bitten (*by his teeth*), and cannot come out (*of his mouth*).' Then Indra created out of his own body cold and fever. This is how cold and fever came into existence. Whoever knows this origin of cold and fever, will not be attacked by cold and fever. Indra transferred cold and fever to them (*or* to Vṛitra). When he (Vṛitra) began to shiver, Agni and Sôma came out : it is *prâṇa* (air inhaled) and *apâna* (air exhaled) that left him. Prâṇa is *Daksha* and Apâna is *Kratu*. Hence the sacrificer should begin to shiver and say : 'Daksha and Kratu are within me.' Thereby he will have Prâṇa and Apâna in himself, and live the whole length of life. Having released the gods from Vṛitra, Indra offered an oblation at the full-moon on account of his slaying Vṛitra ; for they kill him at full-moon, and revive him at new-moon. Hence a Ṛik-verse about the slaying of Vṛitra is recited at full-moon, while another about his revival is sung on the occasion of new-moon. Having offered an oblation for slaying Vṛitra, Indra again faced Vṛitra with his thunderbolt. Then the Sky and the Earth said : 'Do not kill him, for he is lying upon us.' And they said again : 'We request a gift (*if he is to be killed*) ; I shall like to be decked with stars—so said the Sky ; and I shall like to be variously formed,—so said the Earth.' Hence the Sky is decked with stars, while the Earth is variously formed. Whoever knows this gift of the Sky and the Earth will have the same gift. Having been born out of these two (the Sky and the Earth), Indra killed Vṛitra. Having killed Vṛitra, the gods asked Agni and Sôma to carry their oblations. They said : 'We have lost our energy ; for it is in Vṛitra.' The gods inquired among themselves, saying 'who can secure that energy ?' Some replied : 'The cow (*can do that*) ; for the cow is the friend of all.' The cow said : 'I shall

request a gift : you live upon the two things that exist only in me.' The cow secured that energy. Hence they live upon the two things that exist in the cow alone. What is called *ghi* is the energy of Agni, and what is called milk is that of Sôma. Whoever knows thus the energy of Agni and Sôma will be energetic. The Brahmavâdins debate : 'of what deity is the full-moon ?' One should reply : 'Prajâpati.' Hence Prajâpati gave to Indra, his eldest son, a firm footing. Hence men give to their eldest son a firm footing by bestowing upon him a large portion of wealth."

The following passage of the Taittirîya Samhita (VI, 5, 1) seems to furnish additional evidence about Vṛitra being a half month :—

इंद्रो वृत्राय वज्रमुदयच्छत्. स वृत्रो वज्रादुद्यतादबिभेत्. सोऽब्रवीन्मा मे प्रहारस्ति वा इदं मयि वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामीति. तस्मा उकथ्यं प्रायच्छत्. तस्मै द्वितीयमुदयच्छत्. सोऽब्रवीन्मा मे प्रहारस्ति वा इदं मयि वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामीति तस्मा उकथ्यमेव प्रायच्छत्. तस्मै तृतीयमुदयच्छत्. तंविष्णुरन्वतिष्ठत जहीति. सोऽब्रवीन्मा मे प्रहारस्ति वा इदं मयि वीर्यं तत्ते प्रदास्यामीति. तस्मा उकथ्यमेव प्रायच्छत् तं निर्मायं भूतमहत् यज्ञो हि तस्य मायाऽऽसीत्.

T. S. VI, 5, 1.

"Indra raised the thunderbolt against Vṛitra. Then Vṛitra became afraid of this raised thunderbolt; he said : 'Do not kill me ; there is some power in me ; that I shall give you.' So saying he gave Ukthya (Fifteen) to Indra. Indra raised weapon against him for a second time. He said : 'Do not kill me ; there is some power in me ; that I shall give you.' So saying he gave the latter the same Ukthya (Fifteen). Then Indra raised the weapon against him for a third time; then Vishnu followed Indra, saying 'kill him.' He said : 'Do not kill me ; there is some power in me ; I shall give you that.' So saying he gave the same Ukthya to Indra. Indra then killed this guileless demon. It was, verily, the sacrifice which was his guile."

We are told in the above passage that while breathing out, Vṛitra gave *Ukthya* to Indra. Ukthya is a word used in the Vedic literature in the sense of 'fifteen,'[12] The word Vajra, the weapon of Indra, is also used in the same sense.[13] Accordingly the wielding of Vajra or 'fifteen' by Indra, as well as the gift of fifteen by Vṛitra to Indra, clearly means the growth of fifteen days over and above the seventh intercalary month.

Contemporary religious records also furnish evidence that the Âdityas are the gods of intercalary months. It is known that the Âdityas are the sons of Aditi. Aditi in the Ṛigvêda (X. 100 1, 94) is requested to protect the poets from *Amhas*, 'sin.' She and her sons also are requested to release the poets from guilt or sin (R. V. I. 24 ; II. 27 ; VII. 93 ; I. 162 ; VII. 87).[14] I have shown in my *Vedic Calendar* how the word *Amhaspatya* is used in the sense of an intercalary month and an intercalary month alone. There is no doubt that this word is philologically identical with the Zend word *Ameshaspenta*. The number of Ameshaspentas is also seven. Prof. Macdonell says (*Vedic Mythology*, P. 44), "It is here to be noted that the two groups have not a single name in common, even Mithra not being an Ameshaspenta ; that the belief in the Âdityas being seven in number is not distinctly characteristic and old ; and that though the identity of the Âdityas and Ameshaspentas has been generally accepted since Roth's essay, it is rejected by some distinguished Avestan scholars."

Whatever might be the reason of the Avestan scholars for rejecting the identity, this much is clear, that the words Amhaspatya and Ameshaspenta are identical ; and that when the former word is invariably used in the sense of an intercalary month in the Yajurvêda, there is no doubt that the forgotten meaning of the latter word must also be the same ; and that when the Ameshaspentas are seven, the number of Amhaspatyas must also be and is, as we have already seen, seven. As regards the difference in the names of the Ameshaspentas and of the Âdityas, it does not appear to be of much importance, for the seven Amhaspatyas or intercalary months are found variously named both in the Ṛigvêda and the Atharvavêda.

12 See *Tai. Sam.* VII. 2, 5, 17. 13 See *Ibid.* VII. 3, 6, 15 ; 4, 7, 25.

14 See Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 121.

The following are some of the passages of the Atharvavêda (VIII. 9) in which the seven Âdityas or the gods of intercalary months are called in various ways:

षडाहुश्शीतान्षडु मास उष्णानृतुं नो ब्रूत यतमोऽतिरिक्तः ।
सप्त सुपर्णाः कवयो निषेदुः सप्त छंदांस्यनु सप्त दीक्षाः ॥ 17
सप्त होमाः समिधो ह सप्त मधूनि सप्त ऋतवो ह सप्त ।
सप्ताज्यानि परिभूतमायंताः सप्त गृध्रा इति शुश्रुमा वयम् ॥ 18
अष्ट जाता भूता प्रथमज ऋतस्याष्टेंद्र ऋत्विजो दैव्या ये ।
अष्टयोनिरदितिरष्टपुत्राष्टमीं रात्रिमभि हव्यमेति ॥ 21
अष्टेंद्रस्य षड्यमस्य ऋषीणां सप्त सप्तधा ।
अपो मनुष्यानोषधीस्तां उ पंचानु सेचिरे ॥ 23

" Six they call the cold, and six the hot months.

Tell ye us the season, which one is in excess; seven eagles, poets, sat down; seven metres after seven consecrations."17

" Seven are the offerings, the fuels seven, the sweet things seven, the seasons seven; seven sacrificial butters went about the existing thing; they are such as have seven heavenly birds, so have we heard." 18.

" Eight are born the beings first born of Ṛita; eight, O Indra!, are the priests who are of the gods; Aditi has eight wombs, eight sons; the oblation goes unto the eighth night." 21.

" Among the seers, eight are with Indra, and six are in pairs; they are seven-fold and seven; waters, men, and herbs,—over these the five *(years)* have showered." 23.

In verse 17 the poet clearly mentions the intercalary months (Atirikta Ṛitu) and numbers them in various names as seven. The expression 'seven seasons,' when taken with the expression 'the excessive season,' leaves no doubt that they are intercalarly months and seven in number. In verses 21 and 23 the poet refers to the story of Aditi, and seems to hesitate to count her sons as eight, though that was the number fixed at first. In the following passages of the Atharvavêda (IX, 9. and R. V. I. 164) the seven months are called seven horses and seven sisters:—

सप्त युंजंति रथमेकचक्रमेको अश्वो वहति सप्तनामा ।
त्रिनाभि चक्रमजरमनर्वं यत्रेमा विश्वा भुवनाधि तस्थुः ॥ 2
इमं रथमधि ये सप्त तस्थुः सप्तचक्रं सप्त वहंत्यश्वाः ।
सप्त स्वसारो अभि संनवंत यत्र गवां निहिता सप्त नामा ॥ 3
द्वादशारं न हि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य ।
आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः ॥ 13
सनेमि चक्रमजरं वि वावृत उत्तानायां दश युक्ता वहंति ।
सूर्यस्य चक्षू रजसैत्यावृतं यस्मिन्नातस्थुर्भुवनानि विश्वा ॥ 14
साकंजानां सप्तथमाहुरेकजं षडिद्यमा ऋषयो देवजा इति ।
तेषामिष्टानि विहितानि धामशः स्थात्रे रेजंते विकृतानि रूपशः ॥ 16

"Seven harness a one-wheeled chariot; one horse, having seven names, draws it. Of three naves is the wheel, unwasting, unassailed, whereon stand all those existences. 2

" The seven that stand on this chariot, seven horses draw it, seven wheeled; seven sisters shout at it together; where are set down the seven names of the kine?"

" The twelve-spoked wheel,—for that is not to be worn out,—revolves greatly about the sky of Ṛita; there, O Agni!, stood the sons, paired, seven hundred and twenty." 13.

" The unwasting wheel, with rim, rolls about; ten paired ones draw upon the upper side *(uttâna)*; the sun's eye goes surrounded with the welkin in which stood all existences." 14

" Of those born together the seventh they call the sole-born (single-born); six, they say, are twins, god born seers; the sacrifices of them, distributed according to their respective stations and modified in form, move to the one permanent *(sthatre)*." 16.

(To be continued.)

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

(*Continued from Vol. XLI., p. 173.*)

XIV.—The Fourth Rock edict of Asoka.

THERE is one passage in this edict which has very much exercised students of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is this, according to the several recensions:

Girnar:—*Ta aja devânaṁ priyasa Priyadasino râño dhaṁmacharaṇena bherîghoso aho dhaṁmaghoso vimânadasaṇâ cha hastidasaṇâ cha agikhaṁdhâni cha aññâni cha diyvâni rûpâni dasayitpâ anaṁ.*

Kâlsî:—*Se ajâ devânaṁ piyasâ Piyadasine lâjine dhaṁmachalanenâ bhelighose aho dhaṁmaighose vimânadasanâ hathini agikaṁdhâni aṁnâni châ divyâni lupâni dasayitu janasa.*

Dhauli:—*Se aja devânaṁ piyasa Piyadasine lâjine dhaṁmachalanena bhelighosaṁ aho dhaṁmaghosaṁ vimânadasanaṁ hathîni agikaṁdhâni aṁnâni cha diviyâni lûpâni dasayitu munisânaṁ.*

Shâhbâzgarhî:—*So aja devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśisa raño dhramacharaṇena bherighosha aho dhramaghosha vimananaṁ draśanaṁ hastino jotikaṁdhani añani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa.*

Mansehrâ:—*Se aja devana priyasa Priyadraśine rane dhramacharaṇena bherighoshe aho dhrama goshe vimanadraśana hastine agikaṁdhani añani cha divani rupani draśeti janasa.*

This passage has been variously interpreted, but these interpretations may be divided into two classes according as they are taken to refer to terrestrial objects or atmospheric phenomena. The first kind of interpretation has been favoured by M. Senart and Prof. Bühler and the second by Professors Kern and Hultzsch. I confess, the first interpretation commends itself to me as being more natural. But the actual sense I deduce from the passage differs from that of M. Senart or of Prof. Bühler, and I give it here for the kind consideration of the scholars, who are interested in the matter.

In the first place, it is highly important to understand the syntax of the passage. The word *aho* I take with Professors Kern and Hultzsch as equivalent to *abhavat*. *Vimânadasaṇâ* of the Girnâr and Kâlsî texts corresponds to *vimânadasanaṁ* of the Dhauli and *vimananaṁ draśanaṁ* of the Shâhbâzgarhî recension, and must, therefore, be supposed to stand for the Sanskrit *vimânadarśanâni*. The same remark applies to *hastidasaṇâ* of the Girnâr text.

This may then be literally put into Sanskrit thus:

Tad-adya devânâṁ-priyasya Priyadarśino râjño dharmacharaṇena bherî-ghosho=bhavad=dharmaghosho vimâna-darśanâni cha hasti-darśanâni cha agni-skandhâṁś=cha anyâni cha divyâni rûpâṇi darśayitvâ janaṁ.

And it may be translated into English as follows:

"But now in consequence of the practice of righteousness by king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of the drum has become the sound of righteousness, showing the people the spectacles (*darśana*), of the palaces of gods (*vimâna*), and of the (white) elephant, masses of fire, and other divine representations."

Now, what can be the meaning of this passage? In my opinion, what Aśoka means is that with him the drum has become the proclaimer of righteousness. The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness. This appears to me to be the natural sense of the passage. And now the question arises: what scenes or spectacles did Aśoka show to his subjects? Obviously they are the *vimânas*, *hastins*, *agniskandhas* and so forth. These terms must, therefore, be so interpreted as to show that they could create and foster righteousness. But it must also be borne in mind that the sense we attach to them must not be different from that ordinarily assigned to them. So to begin with, what does Aśoka mean by *vimâna*? According to M. Senart it denotes here "processions of reliquaries", and, according to Bühler, "cars of the gods." Bühler, I think, comes very near the proper sense though he misses the full significance of it. Now, Pâli scholars need not be told

that there is a work in the Pâli literature called *vimâna-vatthu*. It has been edited for the Pâli Text Society by Mr. E. R. Gooneratne. The introduction of this book opens with the following paragraphs:

"The *vimâna-vatthu* is a work that describes the splendour of the various celestial abodes belonging to the Dewas, who became their fortunate owners in accordance with the degree of merit they had each performed, and who there spent their time in supreme bliss.

"These *Vimânas* are graphically described in the little work as column-supported palaces that could be moved at the will of the owners. A Dewa could visit the earth, and we read of their so descending on occasions when they were summoned by Buddha.

"The lives of the Dewas in these *vimânas* or palaces were limited, and depended on the merits resulting from their good acts. From all that we read of them we can well infer that these habitations were the centres of supreme felicity. It is doubtless with much forethought that peculiar stress is laid, in our work, on the description of these vimânas, **in order to induce listeners to lead good and unblemished lives**, to be pure in their acts, and to be zealous in the performance of their religious duties.

"Stories from the *Vimâna-vatthu* are not unfrequently referred to in later doctrinal works, when a virtuous career in life is illustrated. Thus Maṭṭakuṇḍalî and Sirimâ Vimâna are referred to in the Dhammapada Atthakatha; Chitta, Guttila, and Rewati are quoted in the Sutta Sangaha."[1]

Anybody who reads the above extract will be convinced that these must undoubtedly be the *vimânas* referred to by Aśoka. He seems to have made representations of them and paraded them in various places. His motive in doing so we can easily surmise. As *vimânas* are palaces of gods who became their owners in consequence of the pure unblemished lives they led on earth, it was natural that he should show their representations to the people in order to induce them to practise righteousness and become possessors of such celestial abodes. That this was the sole object of the work *Vimâna-vatthu* is clear from the words of Mr. Gooneratne quoted above in bold type. Aśoka is very fond of telling us that the performance of *dhamma* produces merit (*puṇya*) which in its turn conduces to the attainment of heaven (*svarga*). It is, therefore, quite intelligible that he might have shown to his subjects the palaces of the denizens of heaven of which they became masters through the righteous deeds performed by them while on earth, in order to impress on their minds that they also by similar virtuous courses could become owners of them.

Now, what can *hasti-darśana* signify? *Hasti*, of course, ordinarily means an elephant. But representations of what elephant did Aśoka exhibit to his people? They again must be of such a kind that they could deserve the name *divya*. I am almost certain that by *hastin* here we are to understand none by the White Elephant, *i.e.*, Buddha. We know the story of the conception of Buddha. Mâyâ had a dream in which she saw the Bodhisattva in the shape of a white elephant approaching her and entering into her womb by her right side. We have sculptures of this scene not only at Bharahat but also at Sâñchi. Nay, we have incontestable proof that this story was known to Aśoka and that he had at least one representation made of him. On the Girnâr rock below Rock Edict XIII and separated by an indentation we have the following line: . . . *va sveto hasti savaloka-sukhaharo nama* [The white elephant whose name is the bringer of happiness to the whole world]. Prof. Kern was the first to recognise in this an unmistakable reference to Buddha. At Kâlsî too on the east end of the rock containing the edicts of Aśoka inscribed, we have the outline of an elephant with the letters *gajatame* engraved between his feet. These letters, I think, stand for *gajottamaḥ*, and nobody can seriously doubt that here also we have another reference to Buddha. Most probably there was a similar outline or figure of an elephant in Girnâr and also at other places. But it has now disappeared. I have, therefore, no doubt that similar representations of the White Elephant were made and exhibited to the people, most

[1] The idea of the *vimânas* is not foreign even to Jaina literature. "The servants of the *Siddhas* are *Devatas*, or the spirits of good and great men; who, although not so perfect as to obtain an exemption from all future change, yet live in an inferior heaven, called *Swarga*; where for a certain length of time, they enjoy great power and happiness; according to the merit of the good works, which they performed, when living as men." "The mortal bodies of mankind and *Devatas* perish, while the *Vimânas* (*i. e.*, the abodes of deities of various classes) endure." (As. Res., Vol IX, p 262 and pp. 280—81). Prof. K. B. Pathak also informs me that in the Digambara Jaina works entitled *Mâghanandi-śrâvakâchâra* and *Gomaṭasâra* have been given not only minute descriptions but also paintings of the *Vimânas*.

probably accompanied by oral descriptions as in the *âkhyânas* so as to show clearly to them how Buddha was *sarva-loka-sukh-âhara* and thus induce them to imitate his actions in their lives.

There now remains the third word, *viz.*, *agniskandha*, and I am afraid I cannot give any satisfactory explanation here. The word ordinarily signifies a mass of fire, but this mass of fire must be of such a kind that it can be shown to be connected with a well-known incident and point to a moral. The only story that occurs to me in this connection is that narrated in *Jâtaka* No. 40 (Fausboll, Vol. I) called *Khadirangâra-jâtaka*[2]. The Bodhisattva of the story was the Lord High Treasurer of Benares. As he was sitting to take his meal, a Pachcheka Buddha rising form his seven days' trance in the Himâlayas approached with his bowl and begged food. The Bodhisattva asked the bowl to be brought to him and filled it. But Mâra wanted the Pachcheka Buddha to die of starvation by preventing the food from approaching him. So in the mansion of the Bodhisattva he created a fire-pit as fearful as in a hell. His cook who was taking the filled bowl to the Pachcheka Buddha saw this blazing fire and started back. The Bodhisattva came to know what had happened and went out in person to hand over the bowl to his guest. As he stood on the brink of the fiery pit, he noticed Mâra, but heeded him not. And so he strode on with undaunted resolution to the surface of the pit of fire, and lo ! there rose up to the surface a large and peerless lotus-flower, which received the feet of the Bodhisattva. The bowl was given to the guest, and standing in the lotus he preached the truth to the people, extolling **alms-giving** and the commandments.

Several of the *jâtaka* stories we find sculptured in the Bharahat and Sâñchi *stûpas*. They thus appear to have become popular even so early as the third century B.C.; and there is no reason why one of them should not have been utilised by Aśoka to make visual representations for impressing the people. Besides, the story just summarised must have been thought by him as exactly fulfilling his purpose, because it lucidly illustrates the fruit of alms-giving, of which Aśoka is never weary of speaking in his edicts. If he really wanted to encourage alms-giving, I do not think he could have made a happier selection for making representations of it and showing them to his subjects. The *jâtaka* again appears to have been considered to be a very important one by the Buddhists themselves. For the same tale is re-repeated under the name of *Śreshṭhijâtaka* in the *Jâtakamâlâ* of Âryaśûra published by Prof. Kern.

The word *rûpa* occurs in two ancient inscriptions. Line 2 of the well-known Hâthi-gumphâ inscription of Khâravela has the following :—*tato lekha-rûpa-gaṇanâ-vavahâra-vidhi-visâradena*, where the word has been rendered by 'painting' by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. A Pâbbosâ cave inscription again reads *Śrî-Kṛishṇa-gopî-rûpa-kartâ*, where Prof. Bühler translates it by 'statue'. I confine myself to the generic sense of the word, and render it by simply 'representation'. To this day it is a custom especially in villages, where English education has not spread, to make either paintings or clay representations of mythological scenes and explain to the people in detail what they are intended for. I have no doubt that Aśoka must have done a similar thing. Nobody can, I am sure, object to such *rûpas* being called *divya*, which means not only 'belonging to heavenly regions' but also 'pertaining to divine beings.'

XV.—Talegaon Grant of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I.

My friend, Sirdar K. C. Mehendale, Secretary of the *Bhârat-itihâs-samshodhak-maṇḍal*, has kindly sent to me for decipherment a set of copper plates recently brought to light at Taḷegaon (Ḍhamḍhere's) in the Poona district. It registers a grant issued by Kṛishṇa I. of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty. Most of the verses descriptive of the genealogy are found in other Râshṭrakûṭa records. And the three or four new verses that are for the first time met with in this grant teach us nothing new excepting that in one stanza we are told that his son was called Prabhu-tuṅga. This must evidently refer to his son Govindarâja, at whose request, as mentioned further in the inscription, the grant was made.

The charter was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse which happened on the new moon day of Vaiśâkha of Saka 690[3] when Plavaṅga was the cyclic year. At that time Kṛishṇa I.'s

[2] My attention to this *Jâtaka* was drawn by Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi.

[3] The solar eclipse in question occurred on Wednesday the 23rd March 768 A. D.

victorious camp against the Gangas was, we are informed, stationed at Maṇṇanagara, obviously the same as Mânyapura where the royal residence of the Gangas was fixed in the 8th century, and which has been identified with Maṇṇe, north of Nelamangal in Mysore. The grantees were the Brâhmaṇas living in the Karahâṭa Ten-thousand and one Bhaṭṭa-Vâsudeva, to whom two parts only were assigned. The village granted was Kumârigrâma, and we are told that this village was given at the request of two persons called Vâsishṭha-Śrîkumâra and Jaivanti-Phaṇaiya. Along with Kumârigrâma four more villages seem to have been granted. They were Bhamaroparâ, Araluva, Sindigrâma and Taḍavale. All these places are expressly stated to have been comprised in the Pûnaka district (*vishaya*). Their boundaries also have been specified. To their east were Khaṁbhagrâma, Vorimagrâma and Dâḍimagrâma. To the south were the Khadiraveṇa hills. To the west were Alandiyagrâma and Thiuragrâma and to the north the Mûila river. Almost all these localities can be identified on the survey of India Atlas Sheet No. 39. Thus of the villages granted Kumârigrâma is Karehgaon, Bhamaroparâ Bowrapoor, Araluva Ooroolee, Sindigrâma Seendowneh, and Taḍavale Turudee. Of the villages situated on the east, Khaṁbhagrâma is Khamgaon, Vorimagrâma Boree, and Dâḍimagrâma Daleemb. Khadiraveṇa, the name of the hills to the south, cannot be identified, though of course these hills are there as specified. Of the villages on the west Alandiyagrâma and Thiuragrâma are doubtless the well-known Âḷandî and Theur, the first better known as *chorâchî* Âḷandî and the second as the favourite resort of Mâdhavrâo Peshwâ who died there. The river Mûila obviously corresponds to the present name Muḷâ of a river which joins the Muṭhâ near Poona, their conjoint stream flowing afterwards eastwards and passing by the north of the villages mentioned. And it is this conjoint river that appears to have been known in those early days by the name Mûila, though it is now restricted to one of its feeders. But the most interesting fact recorded in this connection is the mention of Pûnaka as the name of the district wherein the villages were situated. Pûnaka obviously is Poona. That Poona is an ancient place has long since been known. It is well-known that the two Shaikh Salla *dargâhs* on the river bank were built about the close of the 13th century on the site of two old temples called Nârâyaṇeśvar and Puṇeśvar. Again, the caves near the Fergusson College are another indication of the antiquity of the city. But the most important and ancient monument is the rock-hewn temple of Pañchâleśvar situated in the Bhâmburḍâ suburb, which has been assigned by archæologists to the 7th century A.D. We have thus ample and sure proof that Poona was a very old place. But it was never dreamt that the name Poona also was equally ancient and that it was the head-quarters of a district in those early times as it now. This however, is now quite clear from the fact that Pûnaka, which can stand for nothing else but Poona, is spoken of as the district which contained the villages granted.

MISCELLANEA.

KAKATIKA MONKS.

In *J. R. A. S.* for January, 1912, Professor H. Lüders, while commenting upon a Brâhmî inscription, in which the word *kakaṭikânaṁ* occurs, observes—

'It is more difficult to say who is meant by *kakaṭikânaṁ*. I take this to be a proper name, and "as a cooking place in a Vihâra can hardly be intended for anybody but the monks living there, *kakatika* would seem to be the name of those monks, though I cannot say why they were called so."

Taking the Professor's assumption that *kakaṭika* is the name of an order of monks to be correct, may I venture to offer an explanation? To me the word appears to be an *apabhraṁśa* from Sanskrit *kaukkuṭika* formed by Pâṇini 4. 4. 46. Unfortunately, Patañjali does not comment on the *sûtra*, but the *sûtra* itself explains the formation of '*kukkuṭîm paśyati* = *kaukkuṭikaḥ*' as '*saṁjñâyâṁ*,' *i.e.*, not in the literal sense of 'one who sees a hen', but as a name, or attributive class-name. The *Kâśikâ* illustrates by '*kaukkuṭiko bhikshuḥ*' and explains that by '*kukkuṭî*' here is meant, by a transferred epithet, the space over which a hen can fly at one flight. The *bhikshu* who limits his vision over so much of the ground before him as can be covered by one (proverbially short) flight of a hen is meant by the word. There must have been *bhikshus* who submitted themselves to this sort of discipline to subdue the sense of sight and to avoid the *hiṁsâ* of small insects. The Buddhists and Jainas set a great store by *ahiṁsâ*, and the sight of a Jaina *sâdhu*, brushing the ground before him with a silk broom and treading with his neck bent low at a snail's pace, is not rare even now in India. If we assume that some *bhikshus* were called *kaukkuṭikas* after this habit of theirs, we can understand the latter contemptuous sense of 'hypocrite' attributed to this word by the metrical Sanskrit *koṣas*. It is with a certain diffidence that I offer this explanation, but the word '*Saṁjñâyâṁ*' in Pâṇini's *sûtra* itself supports my conjecture, I think.

Ajmer. CHANDRADHAR GULERI

THE INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN ARTIFICIAL POETRY.

BY G. BUHLER.

[*Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M.A.; Poona.*]

[The Editors of this *Journal* are deeply indebted to Prof. H. Lüders for having kindly taken the trouble of securing the permission of the Vienna University to publish a translation of Dr. Bühler's *Die Indischen Inschriften, etc.* This booklet is so important that a reliable translation was a long-felt desideratum to the Indian scholars. The Editors are therefore highly thankful also to Prof. V. S. Ghate for having prepared the translation which is being published in this *Journal*].

Indian Epigraphy which, since the last fifteen years has received a new impulse, and which thanks to the progress of Sanskrit philology as well as to the perfecting of the methods of multiplying the inscriptions, leads to more certain results than in early times, has already provided us with several important particulars elucidating the literary and religious history of that part of the world which is inhabited by the Brâhmaṇas and which wants a history as such. On the one hand, we owe to it particular and very important data, which definitely fix the time of prominent authors, as for instance, recently the time of the dramatic poet Râjaśekhara, whose pupils and patrons, the kings Mahendrapâla and Mahîpâla ruled during the last decade of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth century of our era, as shown by Mr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn. On the other hand, the comparison of the partly insignificant notices in the inscriptions with the accounts of literary tradition or with the (data) conditions of the present day, permits us to have an occasional peep, in the development of all the types of literature and of all the religious systems, a peep whose worth is considerably significant in the absence of really historical details. Such, for instance, is the observation that the tradition about the home of several Vedic Schools and also of the works belonging to them, is confirmed through the statements in the old land-grants, inasmuch as, these mention not only the names of the donees but their secular and spiritual families. Not less significant for the history of the very important though little regarded in early times, religion of Mahâvîra-Vardhamâna is the demonstration gradually rendered feasible, that, his followers, the Nirgranthas or Jainas, are mentioned in a number of inscriptions, which runs on from the beginning of the historical period of India, with but rare interruptions, and that the assertions in their canonical works, about the divisions of the Monk-Schools are made reliable to the most part, through writings of the first century of our era. These hitherto published results are, however, only a small part of what the inscriptions may possibly yield to us. An accurate working out and a fuller estimate of the hitherto published materials little in extent though they be, will show that one can procure rich instruction from them, in all the departments of Indian Research; and that their results furnish specially sound proof-stones for the theories about the development of Indian intellectual life, theories which the Indologists, build on very weak foundations, compelled as they are by sheer necessity. The following treatise is a small contribution towards the examination of inscriptions in this spirit. Its aim is to establish firmly those results which the inscriptions yield for the history of Indian Kâvya or the artificial poetry of the court, as also to demonstrate, how far the same agree with the new opinions regarding the development of this species of literature. My reason for undertaking to treat of this question before other perhaps more interesting and less disputed questions, is the recent publication of the Gupta inscriptions by Mr. J. F. Fleet in the third volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum.* This exceedingly important work offers a larger number of wholly or partly metrical inscriptions with absolutely certain dates. The same, taken together with some documents already made known through reliable publications (editions) allow us to prove the existence of a Kâvya literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit during the first five centuries of our era, and to show that a great period of literature, which brought into general prominence, the style of the poetic school of Vidarbha or Berar, lies before the middle of the fourth century. They also make it very probable that the year 472 after Christ is to be fixed as the *terminus ad quem* for the poet Kâlidâsa.

Such conclusions would, no doubt, appear quite unimportant and scarcely worth the trouble of a special inquiry to those searchers who busy themselves with the history and the literature of the European peoples. The Indologe, however is unfortunately not in that happy position to look down with contempt, even upon such general results. Because, the history proper of Indian Artificial Poetry begins not earlier than in the first half of the seventh contury of our era, with the reign of the mighty king Harsha or Harshavardhana of Ṭhânesar and Kanouj, who ruled over the whole of Northern India from 606-648 A.D. The works of his favourite court-poet Bâṇa-bhaṭṭa who tried to portray the life of his master and of himself in the incomplete historical novel *Śrî-Harshacharita*, and who besides wrote, as we know for certainty, the romance *Kâdambarî*, and the poem (song) *Chaṇḍî-śataka*, and perhaps also the drama *Pârvatî-pariṇaya*, are the oldest products of the Court-poetry, whose composition, no doubt, falls within the narrow limits given above. Before this time, there exists no *Kâvya* as such whose age is hitherto determined with some accuracy and certainty or allows itself to be determined with the accessible documents. Only of one work which shows, throughout, the influence of the *Kâvya* style and which contains several sections entirely written in the *Kâvya* style, we mean, of Varâhamihira's metrical Manual of Astrology, *the Bṛihat-saṁhitâ*, it can be said with confidence that it is written about the middle of the sixth century; because Varâhamihira begins the calculations in his *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, with the year 505 A.D.; and he is supposed to have died in the year 587 A.D. according to the statement of one of his commentators. As to when the most celebrated classical poets Kâlidâsa, Subandhu, Bhâravi, Pravarasena, Guṇâḍhya and the collector of verses, Hâla-sâta-vâhana lived, we possess no historical evidence. We can only say that the wide spread of their renown is attested for the first half of the seventh century by the mention of their names by Bâṇa and in the Aihoḷe-Meguṭi inscription of 634 A.D.; as also that some of them, like Guṇâḍhya to whose work Subandhu does allude repeatedly, must certainly have belonged to a considerably early period. Besides this, there are anecdotes only poorly attested, as well as sayings of very doubtful worth; and the scanty details contained in the poems themselves, which might serve as points (stepping-stones) for determining their age, are very difficult to be estimated, because the political and literary history of India during the first five centuries of our era lies very much in obscurity. When the age of the most important poets is so absolutely uncertain, it is but natural that the case should be in no way better with the general question of the age of the *Kâvya* poetry. In the literature, we come across very meagre traces which point to the fact that the artificial poetry was cultivated from earlier times; and to our great regret, even the age of the most important work in which quotations from *Kâvyas* occur, we mean, the *Mahâbhâshya*, is in no way, above doubt. Thus it is not improbable that these quotations might be left unheeded as being witnesses little to be trusted as some of the most important inquirers have already done, and that theories, not taking notice of the same, might be put forth, which shift the growth of the artificial poetry to a very late age. Under these circumstances it can be easily seen why I make myself bold to claim some interest for the evidence based upon the testimony of inscriptions, in favor of a relatively high antiquity of the artificial poetry.

The materials which the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* offers for this inquiry, are not insignificant, and comprise not less than 18 numbers whose dates are certain or at least approximately determinable, the age of their composition lying about between 350 and 550 A.D. The assiduous labours of Mr. Fleet and Mr. Dîkshit, about the astronomically calculable dates of the Gupta-inscriptions, irrefutably show that the beginning of the Gupta era falls 241 years later than that of the Śaka era, and for the reducing of the Gupta to the Christian era, they leave us just the option of adding 318 or 319 years. Mr. Fleet has tried to show that the year 319 or 320 A.D. marks the beginning of the Gupta era. Dr. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, advocates 318 or 319, and for important reasons. For a literary-historical inquiry, it is of course the same (it matters not, it is indifferent which of these suppositions is the right one). The first king who makes use of the Gupta era is Chandragupta II, named Vikramâditya, whose inscriptions and coins show the years 82-94 or 95, *i.e.*, 400-413 or 401-414 A.D. From

the reign of his father Samudragupta, there are two inscriptions not dated. These belong to the last half of the fourth century and as regards Mr. Fleet's No. I, it can be asserted that it was composed when Samudragupta had already ruled for a large number of years. Because the number of his exploits eulogised therein is very considerable. Mr. Fleet's supposition that this inscription must have been composed after Samudragupta's death, rests, as it will be shown in detail below, on a wrong interpretation of the expression "Samudragupta's glory had gone up to heaven". As for the documents dated according to the Mâlava era, the detailed expositions of Dr. Peterson and Mr. Fleet leave no doubt that the era is identical with the Vikrama era of 56-7 A.D. The age of several undated numbers can be determined, as Mr. Fleet has shown, by the comparison of their contents with those of the dated numbers. If we arrange chronologically the numbers important for our inquiry, we may have the following list.—

1. No. I, Harisheṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta, composed sometime between 375-390 A.D., on the Allahâbâd pillar, consisting of 9 verses and the rest in high, elevated prose, at the close named a *Kâvya.*

2. No. II., A fragment of a poetic description of Samudragupta, composed sometime between 353—390 A. D.

3. No. IV., An undated fragment of a poetic description of four early Gupta-kings, from the reign of Chandragupta II ; Gupta-Saṁvat 82-94 or 95.

4. No. VI., The small, wholly metrical, undated inscription in Vîrasena's cave at Udayagiri, from the same period.

5. No. X., The inscription on Dhruvaśârman's pillar at Bhilsaḍ, composed partly in high prose and partly in metre, dated Gupta-Saṁvat 96, *i. e.,* 414 or 415 A. D., in the reign of Kumâragupta, Gupta-Saṁvat 96—130, 414/5—448/9.

6. No. XVII., The long composition, from Mayûrâkshaka's well in Gâṅgdhar, dated Saṁvat 480 (?), 423/4 (?) A. D., from the reign of king Viśvavarman.

7. No. LXI., The small metrical inscription from Śaṅkara's cave in Udayagiri, dated Gupta-Saṁvat 106, 424 or 425 A. D.

8. No. XII., The undated, partly metrical inscription on the pillar at Bihâr, from the reign of Skandagupta, Gupta-Saṁvat 136-149, *i. e.,* 454-467 or 455-468 A. D.

9. No. XIII., The undated inscription on the pillar at Bhitarî, which is partly in high prose and partly in metre, from the same period.

10. No. XIV., The long, wholly metrical Rock-inscription at Junâgaḍh, which shows the Gupta year 136-138, 454-6 or 455-7, and is called a *grantha.*

11. No. XV., The wholly metrical inscription on Madra's pillar at Kahâuṁ, dated Gupta-Saṁvat 141, 459 or 460 A. D.

12. No. XVIII., Vatsabhaṭṭi's wholly metrical *praśasti* about the Sun temple at Mandasor, dated Mâlava-saṁvat 529, 473/4 A. D.

13. No. XIX., The wholly metrical inscription on Mâtṛivishṇu's and Dhanyavishṇu's pillar at Eraṇ, dated Gupta-saṁvat 165, June 21, 484 A. D., in the reign of Budhagupta.

14. No. XX., The short, wholly metrical, inscription on Goparâja's tomb-stone at Eraṇ, dated Gupta-saṁvat 191, 509 or 510 A. D., in the reign of Bhânugupta.

15. No. XXXIII., Vâsula's, undated, wholly metrical, panegyric of the king Yaśodharman, on the pillar at Mandasor, spoken of as *ślokâḥ,* and engraved by the same stone mason as the following dated inscription.

16. No. XXXIV., (? 35) The wholly metrical Praśasti on Daksha's well at Mandasor, composed in the Mâlava year 589, 533-4 A. D., in the reign of king Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana.

17. No. XXXV., (?36) The inscription on Dhanyavishṇu's boar-statue at Eraṇ, in the year 1 of king Toramâṇa, composed partly in verse and partly in high prose.

18. No. XXXVI. (? 37), The wholly metrical panegyric on Mâtṛicheṭa's temple of Vishṇu in Gwalior, from the year 15 of the reign of Mihirakula, who, according to No. XXXIII, verse 6, was a contemporary of Yaśodharman.

It would be perhaps possible to augment this list by the inclusion of some other documents, as for instance, the Meheraulî pillar-inscription of emperor Chandra, No. XXXII, and the poetically coloured genealogy of the Maukharis on the Asirgaḍh seal, No. XLVII, which, according to the character of their writing, belong to this period. But those already mentioned quite suffice for our purpose. Their number shows that during the period from 350-550 A. D., the use of the kâvya-style in inscriptions, especially in the longer ones, was in vogue and from this very circumstance it follows that court-poetry was zealously cultivated in India. It will be seen further on that this conclusion is confirmed by other indications of no doubtful character. Our next and most important work is, however, to inquire how far the samples of the *Kâvya* style contained in the inscriptions agree with the works of the recognized masters of Indian poetic art, and how the same are related to the rules in the manuals of poetics. A full discussion of all the numbers mentioned would in the meanwhile be too detailed and of but little use. It would suffice to select a poem that falls in the beginning of the period and another that belongs to the close of the same, as representatives and to go through the same thoroughly. With the rest, only a few important points will be prominently touched upon. On similar grounds, I take up, for purpose of a detailed discussion, No. I—Harisheṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta and No. XVIII.—Vatsabhaṭṭi's *praśasti* on the Sun temple at Daśapura-Mandasor; and immediately turn myself to the latter.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ADITYAS.

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(*Continued from p. 24*)

The seven hundred and twenty sons, spoken of in verse 13, are evidently the 720 days and nights of the civil year; and the ten twins on the upper side of the chariot, referred to in the next verse, must necessarily be the 10 days and nights above the 360 days of the year. This shows that the poets were well acquainted with the real length of the solar year. It is the seven Âdityas or the gods of the intercalary months, that are referred to in verse 16. The expression that the seventh was single-born clearly shows the break in the eighth intercalary month, as pointed out above.

In the following verses of the Atharvavêda (X. 8) the mention of the number one thousand in connection with seven swans seems to furnish additional evidence that the seven Âdityas, eagles, or swans, as they are variously called, are the seven intercalary months.

द्वादश प्रधयश्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत ।
तत्राहतास्त्रीणि शतानि शंकवष्षष्टिश्च खीला अविचाचला ये ॥ 4
इदं सवितर्विजानीहि षड्यमा एक एकजः ।
तस्मिन्हापित्वामच्छंते य एषामेक एकजः ॥ 5
एकचक्रं वर्तते एकनेमि सहस्राक्षरं प्रपुरो निपश्च ॥
अर्धेन विश्वं भुवनं जजान यदस्यार्धं क तद्बभूव ॥ 7
सहस्राह्न्या वियतावस्य पक्षौ हरेर्हंसस्य पततस्स्वर्गम् ।
स देवान्सर्वानुरस्युपदद्य संपश्यन्याति भुवनानि विश्वा ॥ 18

"Twelve fellies, one wheel, three naves,—who understands that? Therein are inserted three hundred and sixty pins, pegs that are immovable."[15] 4

"This, O Savitṛi!, do thou distinguish: six are twins, one is sole-born; they seek participation in him who of them is the sole sole-born." 5

"One-wheeled it rolls, one-rimmed, thousand-syllabled, forth in front, down behind; with a half it has generated all existence; what its other half is,—what has become of that?" 7

"By a thousand days are the wings expanded of him, of the yellow swan flying to heaven; he, putting all the gods in his breast, goes, viewing together all existences."[16] 18

[15] Comp. R.V.I. 164, 48.

[16] Comp. A.V. XIII. 2,38.

In verse 4, the Sâvana year of 360 days is described; and in verse 5, the three pairs of intercalary months together with the single seventh month are referred to. In verse 7, the cycle of 20 years is described as containing a thousand syllables, *i.e.*, days. The question about the other half seems to refer to the loss of fifteen days in the eighth intercalary month. In verse 18, the last cycle of five years with $7\frac{1}{2}$ intercalary months seems to be described as a special period or great year, each wing or half of which is measured by a thousand days. The yellow Swan is the seventh intercalary month. Now, if we expand the wings by putting 1,000 on each, its duration becomes equal to 2,000 days. In 2,000 days there are $\frac{2,000}{29d,\ 12h,\ 45m.} = \frac{2,000 \times 32}{945} = \frac{12,800}{189} =$ 67 lunations and 22 days, taking a lunation to be equal to 29 days, 12 hours, and 45 minutes.[17] It is clear, therefore, that by the expressions 'thousand-syllabled chariot,' and 'a wing of thousand days' duration,' the poet refers to the last cycle in the greater cycle of 20 years, in as much as that cycle is approximately equal to five lunar years and seven and a half lunations. It is also to be noted that five lunar years are $= 5 \times 354 = 1,770$ days and twenty-times 12 extra days $= 20 \times 12 = 240$ days. Putting these together, we have $1,770 + 240 = 2,010$ days, which is greater by 10 days than the duration of 2,000 days, as described in verse 18. We shall see that the same cycle of five years with seven and a half intercalary months is also termed Purusha, 'man' or Sapta-purusha, 'seven men'. Hence it is probable that the rising up of the thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, and thousand-legged Purusha by 10 *aṅgulas* or days above the earth, described in the Purushasûkta, refers to the same cycle of 2,010 days, which was made equal to 2,000 days. It is probable that the use of *aṅgulas* to mark days was a common practice among the Vedic poets, as among the Arabians. Regarding the use of fingers by an Arabian prophet to mark days, this is what Albêrûnî says[18] :—

"—'We are illiterate people, we do not write, nor do we reckon the month thus and thus and thus,' each time showing his ten fingers, meaning a complete month or thirty days. Then he (the prophet) repeated his words by saying 'And thus and thus and thus', and at the third time he held back one thumb, meaning an incomplete month or twenty-nine days."

In the following verses of the Atharvavêda (XII, 3, 16; and XIII, 2, 24) the same intercalary months are described as seven sacrifices and seven yellow steeds :—

सप्तमेधान्पशवः पर्यगृह्णन् य एषा ज्योतिष्मानुत यश्चकर्ष ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशद्देवतास्तान्सचंते स नः स्वर्गमभिनषे लोकम् ॥
सप्त त्वा हरितो वहंति देव सूर्य शोचिष्केशं विचक्षणम् ।
अयुक्त सप्त शुंध्यवः सूरो रथस्य नप्त्यः ताभिर्याति स्वयुक्तिभिः ॥

"Seven sacrifices the cattle obtained; of which some were full of light, and others were pining; to them the three and thirty attach themselves; do thou conduct us unto the heavenly world."

"Seven yellow steeds, O heavenly sun, draw in the chariot thee, the flame-haired, the out-looking: the sun hath yoked the seven neat daughters to the chariot; with them who are self-yoked, he goeth."

The only point to be considered in this is the number 33. Here, again, the allusion seems to be to the same thousand days by which each wing of the heavenly swan was said to be expanded; for 1,000 is equal to $\frac{1,000}{30} =$ 33 months and 10 days.

In the following verse of the Atharvavêda (X, 8, 7 and 13; and XII. 4,22) the poets speaks of the same cycle as one of eight wheels or eight intercalary months :—

अष्टाचक्रं वर्तते एकनेमी सहस्राक्षरं प्रपुरो निपश्चा ।
अर्धेन विश्वं भुवनं जजान यदस्यार्धं कतमः स केतुः ॥

"The eight-wheeled (*chariot*) rolls, having one rim, thousand-syllabled, forth in front, down behind; with a half it has generated all existence; what its other half is,—which sign is that?"

[17] But the Vedic estimate of the synodic lunar month, as shown by the Jyotish Vêdâṅga, was 1830 days divided by 62 lunations = 29 days, 12 hours, 23·2258 . . . . . . Seconds.
[18] *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, P. 78; 1879.

In the following passage of the Atharvavêda (IX, 10, 17) the poet counts the intercalary months neither as eight nor as seven, but exactly as seven and a half and calls them embryos:—

सप्तार्धगर्भाभुवनस्य रेतः विष्णोस्तिष्ठंति प्रदिशा विधर्मणि ।
ते धीतिभिर्मनसा ते विपश्चितः परिभुवः परिभवंति विश्वतः ॥

"Seven and a half, embryos, the seed of existence, stand in front in Vishṇu's distribution; they, by thoughts, by mind, they, inspired, surround on all sides the surrounders."

In the following verses of the Atharvavêda (X, 3, 8-10), the poet mentions the thirteenth month, and refers to the seven intercalary months as seven eagles and seven suns, making Kaśyapa the head of them:—

अहोरात्रैर्विमितं त्रिंशदंगं त्रयोदशं मासं यो निर्मिमीते ।
तस्य देवस्यक्रुद्धस्य एतदागः............ ॥
कृष्णं नियानं हरयस्सुपर्णा अपो वसाना दिवमुत्पतंति ।
त आववृत्रन्सदनादृतस्य तस्य देवस्य क्रुद्धस्य एतदागः ॥
यत्ते चं कश्यप रोचनावद्यत्संहितं पुष्कलं चित्रभानु ।
यस्मिन्सूर्या अर्पितास्सप्त साकं तस्य देवस्य क्रुद्धस्य एतदागः ॥

"He who measures out the thirteenth month, fabricated of days and nights, having thirty members,—against that god, angered, is this offence.

"Black the descent, the yellow eagles, clothing themselves in waters, fly up to the sky; they have come hither from the seat of Rita; against that god, angered, is this offence.

"What of thee, O Kaśyapa, is bright, full of shining, what that is combined, splendid, of wondrous light, in which seven suns are set together; against that god, angered, is this offence."

In the following verses of the Atharvavêda (XIX. 53, 1 and 2) the Poet describes the same seven intercalary months as time in the form of a thousand-eyed horse with seven reins, and also as seven wheels:—

कालो अश्वो वहति सप्तरश्मिः सहस्राक्षः अजरो भूरिरेताः ।
तमारोहंति कवयो विपश्चितः तस्य चक्रा भुवनानि विश्वा ।
सप्त चक्रा वहति काल एष सप्तास्य नाभीरमृतं न्वक्षः ।
स इमा विश्वा भुवनान्यर्वाङ्कालः स हीयते प्रथमो नु देवः ।

"Time drives a horse with seven reins, thousand-eyed, possessing much seed; him the inspired poets mount; his wheels are all beings.

"Seven wheels doth this Time drive; seven are his naves, immortality forsooth his axle; he, Time, including all these beings, goes on as first god."

The meaning of a thousand eyes is the same as that of a thousand syllables, or a thousand days, expanding a wing of the heavenly swan, explained above.

In what is called the Aruṇôpanishad of the Taittirîya Âraṇyaka, the poet describes the same year with an intercalated month (*Adhisaṁvatsara*), beginning with the rainy season, together with the signs and characteristics by which its arrival was usually found out, so picturesquely and forcibly that one cannot resist the conclusion that the poet refers to the seven intercalary months. Since the Upanishad furnishes additional evidence about the theory I have been setting forth here, some of the passages of it, bearing on the subject, are quoted below, with translation and notes. Owing to the want of the intercalation of 8 or 7½ months, the beginning of the year falls back, and coincides, as pointed above, with the middle of the month of Srâvaṇa, when the rainy season sets in with lightening and rainbow. Accordingly the poet calls upon the waters to remove the heat and fever of the summer along with the demon infesting the intercalary months, and to manifest the arrival of the Âdityas, the gods of the seven intercalary months:—

आपमापामपस्सर्वा अस्मादस्मादितोऽमुतः ।
अग्निर्वायुश्च सूर्यश्च सह संचस्करर्द्धिया ॥ 1
वाय्वश्वा रश्मिपतयः मरीच्यात्मानो अद्रुहः ।
देवीर्भुवनसूवरीः पुत्रवत्त्वाय मे सुत ॥ 2
महानाम्नीर्महामानाः महसो महसस्स्वः ।

देवीः पर्जन्यसूवरीः पुत्रवत्त्वाय मे सुत ॥ 3
अपाऽग्न्युष्णिमपा रक्षः अपाऽग्न्युष्णिमपा रघम् ।
अपाघ्रामप चावर्ति अपदेवीरितो हित ॥ 4
वज्रं देवीरजीतांश्च भुवनं देवसूवरीः ।
आदित्यानदितिं देवीं योनिनोर्ध्वमुदीषत ॥ 5
शिवा नश्शंतमा भवंतु दिव्या आप ओषधयः ।
सुमृडीका सरस्वति मा ते व्योम संदृशि ॥ 6

"I have obtained and obtained all waters from this and that side ; may Agni, the sun, and the wind make the waters prosperous. 1

"O waters, whose steeds are the (*seven*) winds, whose lords are the rays of the sun, whose body is formed of shining rays, who are not malicious to anyone, and who are the mothers of all beings, allow me to have sons. 2

"O Waters, who are of pleasing names, who are worthy of worship, who are of shining form, who are productive of food, and who are the mothers of the raining clouds, allow me to have sons. 3

"O Waters, take away the excessive heat and fever, take away the demon, take away the bad smell, and take away our poverty. 4

"O Waters, hold up the thunderbolt, hold up life and all beings ; O mothers of gods, hold up the Âdityas as well as the goddess Aditi together with her womb (*bringing forth the Âdityas or intercalary months*). 5

"May the heavenly waters and herbs be auspicious to us, and may they bring happiness to us; O water, thou art the bestower of comforts ; I have not seen thy abode in the sky." 6

In the next passages the poet proceeds to define time and its characteristics :—

स्मृतिः प्रत्यक्षमैतिह्यमनुमानश्चतुष्टयम् ।
एतैरादित्यमंडलं सर्वैरेव विधास्यते ॥ 7
सूर्यो मरीचिमादत्ते सर्वस्माद्भुवनादधि ।
तस्याः पाकविशेषेण स्मृतं कालविशेषणम् ॥ 8
नदीव प्रभावात्काचिदक्षय्यात्स्यंदते यथा ।
तां नद्योऽभिसमायांति सोरुस्सती न निवर्तते ॥ 9
एवं नानासमुत्थानाः कालास्संवत्सरं श्रिताः ।
अणुशश्च महशश्च सर्वे समवयांति तम् ॥ 10
स तैस्सर्वैस्समाविष्टः उरुस्सन्न निवर्तते ।
अधिसंवत्सरं विद्यात् तदेवलक्षणे ॥ 11
अणुभिश्च महद्भिश्च समारूढः प्रदृश्यते ।
संवत्सरः प्रत्यक्षेण नाधिसत्वः प्रदृश्यते ॥ 12

"Remembrance of past experience, seeing with the eyes, tales heard from others, and inference as the fourth,—with all these (*four kinds of evidence*), the circle of the (*seven or eight*) Âdityas is laid up. 7

"The Sun takes up the water from the whole world ; by means of the peculiar and ripe form of the waters [*i. e.*, raining clouds] the characteristics of the times are remembered.

"Just as a river flows from an imperishable source, and just as other streamlets join her, and just as she, growing in volume, never returns, so the moments of various birth are merged in the year, by small bits and big periods; they all form the year ; the year being formed of them grows in length and never returns.

"One should understand this as a year with intercalation (*Adhisaṁvatsara*), and that by means of the characteristics (*to be spoken of*) ; formed of small and big bits of time, the ordinary year is visible to the eye; but not so the swollen thing [*i. e.*, the year in which intercalation is to be made]." 12

The poet has defined the year as being formed of a member of small and big moments ; and has pointed out the difficulty of seeing the intercalated year. Now he is going to describe those characteristics by which its arrival can be inferred :—

पटरो विक्लिधः पिंगः एतद्वरुण लक्षणम् ।
यत्रैतदुपदृश्यते सहस्रं तत्र नीयत ॥ 13

एकं हि शिरः नाना मुखे कृत्स्नं तदृतुलक्षणम् ।
उभयतस्सप्तेंद्रियाणि जल्पितं त्वेव दिह्यते ॥ 14
शुक्लकृष्णे संवत्सरस्य दक्षिणवामयोः पार्श्वयोः ।
तस्यैषा भवतिः—
शुक्रं तेऽन्यद्यजतं तेऽन्यत् ।
विषुरूपे अहनी द्यौरिवासि ॥ 15
विश्वा हि माया अवसि स्वधावः ।
भद्रा ते पूषन्निह रातिरस्त्विति ॥ 16
नात्र भुवना न पूषा न पशवः नादित्यः ।
संवत्सर एव प्रत्यक्षेण प्रियतमं विद्यात् ॥ 17
एतद्वै संवत्सरस्य प्रियतमं रूपं योऽस्य महानर्थ उत्पत्स्यमानो भवति ।
इदं पुण्यं कुरुष्वेति तमाहरणं दद्यात् ॥ 18

"Being covered with (*clouds*), being damp and tending to wet, and being red (*with the rainbow*),—these are the characteristics of Varuṇa, the lord of water or the rainy season; when this is seen, there is put in a thousand (*days*);

"The head is uniform and single; but in its face it (*the year*) is varied; this is the sum total of the characteristics of the seasons (*intercalary*). From both sides (*ubhayataḥ,*) there are seven vital organs; talk alone paints it thus [in reality there is no such thing as the vital organ, &c.];

"White and dark days are on the right and left sides of the year: the following is said about it:—

O year, that which is white of thee [*i. e.*, the day, and that part of the year which extends from the winter solstice to the summer solstice] is quite different from what is to be worshipped of thee [*i. e.*, the night, and the part of the year which extends from summer solstice to winter solstice]; thy days are of different form; between them thou art like the sky. 15

"O year, thou art productive of food; thou possessest all kinds of enchantment; O Protector, may thy gift be good to us. 16

"No beings here; no god Pushan; no Cattle; no Âditya; there is the year alone; man looks upon it as a dear thing; the form of the year is what is dear to him; hence saying 'Do, thou, this meritorious thing,' one should give gifts when this great thing (*the intercalated year*) comes into existence."

As I have already pointed out, the poet speaks of the arrival of the rainy season, when, for the adjustment of 20 lunar years to twenty sidereal years, the last cycle of 5 years in the period of 20 years was divided into two parts, and each part was made equal to 1,000 days. The expression that there are seven vital organs in the face of the year which, as a whole, is uniform, refers to the insertion of the seven intercalary months. As it is necessary to know the two parts or sides of the year when 1000 days are counted to form each part, the poet has referred to those two sides as being formed of white and dark days respectively. There is no doubt that by the two white and dark sides, the poet refers to what is called the Uttarâyaṇa (that part of the year which extends from the winter solstice to the summer solstice) and also the Dakshiṇâyana (that part of the year which extends from the summer solstice, which coincides with the arrival of the rainy season, to the winter solstice[19]). It is well known that it was during Dakshiṇâyana that sacrifices were performed. Hence the poet has called that part of the year as being worshipable. 'The meritorious thing' refers to the gifts made in the sacrifices made at the end of the Dakshiṇâyana.

The poet now goes on to speak of the seven Âdityas and of the loss of the eighth Âditya:—

साकंजानां सप्तथमाहुरेकजं षडुद्यमा ऋषयो देवजा इति ।
तेषामिष्टानि विहितानि धामशः स्थात्रे रेजंते विकृतानि रूपशः ॥ 19
को नु मर्या अमिथितः सखा सखायमब्रवीत् ।
जहाको अस्मदीषते । यस्तित्याज सखिविदं सखायम् ।

[19] Compare Bhagavadgîtâ, VIII, 24, 25.

न तस्य वाच्यपि भागोऽस्ति । यदीं शृणोत्यलकं शृणोति
नहि प्रवेद सुकृतस्य पंथामिति. ॥ 20

"Of those born together, the seventh they call the sole-born; six, they say, are twins, god-born seers; the sacrifices of them, distributed according to their respective abodes and modified in form, move to the *permanent*. 19

"O men, tell me who is that friend who, though not vexed, said about his friend thus:—'As a deserter, he wants to fly from us?' Whoever has deserted his friend that knew him will have no share *(of offerings)* even in talk; if he hears that there is such a thing, he hears what is untrue; for he does not know the path of good deeds." 20

The poet says here that while the six sons of Aditi are born in pairs, the seventh became single-born, since the eighth, as he says later on, was half-born and was therefore cast out. It is only for the seven that sacrificial offerings are distributed according to their abodes, but not for the eight, who, though a friend, has fled from the company of his friend, the seventh Âditya. This is what the poet seems to imply when he says that a deserting friend will have not even a promise of a share of sacrificial offerings.

The poet now goes on to speak of the five years' cycle:—

ऋतुः ऋतुना नुद्यमानः विननादभिधावः ।
षष्टिश्च त्रिंशका वल्गा शुक्लकृष्णौ च षाष्टिकौ ॥ 21

"One season, being propelled by another, runs and makes a noise: sixty are the groups of thirty *(days)*; white and dark parts are also sixty in number." 21

Before going to speak of the deserter, the poet finds it necessary to describe the rotation of the seasons and of the five years cycle. Here the sixty groups of 30 days are evidently sixty months, *i. e.*, five years. In this cycle a season of two months, propelled by other seasons, steps in. The sixty white and dark parts in the last line seem to refer to the greater cycle of sixty years, in which 120 solstices will happen. (60 winter, 60 summer.) It is to be remembered that the cycle of five years is closely connected with the cycle of sixty years, which is made of twelve cycles of five years each. There may probably be some reference to the names of the sixty years in the words 'Prabhava,'[20] and 'Akshaya,' used in the beginning of the Upanishad, while comparing the year to a river. After describing the characteristics of the spring and other seasons which are omitted here as unnecessary, the poet goes on to speak of the winter season when the sacrifices in connection with intercalation are completed:—

अतिताम्राणि वासांसि अष्टिवज्रशतघ्नि च ।
विश्वेदेवा विप्रहरंति अग्निजिह्वा असश्चत ॥ 22
नैव देवो न मर्त्यः न राजा वरुणो विभुः ।
नाग्निर्नेंद्रो न पवमानः मातृक्क चन विद्यते ॥
दिव्यस्यैका धनुरार्त्निः पृथिव्यामपराश्रिता ।
तस्येंद्रो वम्रिरूपेण धनुर्ज्यामच्छिनत्स्वयम् ।
तदिंद्रधनुरित्यज्यं अभ्रवर्णेषु चक्षते ।
एतदेव शंयोर्बार्हस्पत्यस्य एतदिंद्रस्य धनुः ॥ 25
रुद्रस्येव धनुरार्त्निः शिर उत्पिपेश
स प्रवर्ग्योऽभवत् । तस्मद्यः सप्रवर्ग्येण ॥
यज्ञेत यजते रुद्रस्य स शिरः प्रतिदधाति ।
नैनं रुद्र आरुको भवाति य एवं वेद ॥ 26

(To be continued.)

[20] Prabhava is the name of the first year and Akshaya* of the last in the cycle of sixty years.

* What is the authority for saying that Akshaya instead of Kshaya, is the name of the last year of the cycle?—J. F. F. Akshaya is the name by which the last year is commonly known in the Southern parts of India; see *Essentials of Astronomy*, p. 155, Mysore G. T. A. Press, 1912.—R. S.

THE PEREGRINATIONS OF INDIAN BUDDHISTS IN BURMA AND IN THE SUNDA ISLANDS.

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THE sources, which are at our command for the ancient history of Burma, are the holy scriptures of southern Buddhists composed in Pâli. These were written in India and touch on the history of further India and Burma only cursorily and as a disgression. Besides they cannot claim implicit reliance; but implicit reliance cannot at all be placed in Oriental annalists since a simple straight narrative without ornamentation of their own imagining has been always foreign to them.

According to the concordant testimony of all the histories, the Burmans came from the Ganges Valley and their kings were relatives to the Princes of Kośala and Kapilavastu. Of this tradition only this much is true, namely, that the Burmans emigrated no doubt, from the north and possibly in the course of their migration touched the valley of the Ganges. But there can be no possibility about their being related to the Aryans of India: that would be in conflict with their racial peculiarities as well as their language, which, no doubt, belongs to the monosyllabic group. The whole theory of the descent of the Burmans from India was first invented, after the conversion of the country to Buddhism, by court historians, who thereby flattered the reigning kings, inventing for them a kinship with the clan from which the Buddha had sprung.

In another instance the Burmese tradition comes in contact with the history of India, namely, as regards prince Daśaratha. He, too, was a descendant of the Śâkya dynasty of Kapilavastu to which Gotama belonged, and wandered after renouncing the throne eastwards to Burma, where he founded the so called second Tagaung Dynasty.

From these repeated attempts of the historians to connect the history of Burma with that of India and especially with Kapilavastu, it follows that at an early date a regular intercourse must have been established between the two countries. Thus, we read in the sacred books of merchants from Ukkalâ or Suvarṇabhûmi (these are the ancient names of Burma) who carried on business in Central India. Two of these merchants came in direct contact with the Buddha himself, as is reported to us in one of the oldest texts. (*Mahâvagga*, Book 1, Chapter 4.) The account is naturally somewhat fantastically embellished, still I assume with certainty that a historical kernel underlies it. It is stated there that the Tathâgatas was seated at the foot of the Râjâyatana tree sunk in deep meditation, when there came up to him two men named Tapussa and Bhallika from Ukkalâ bringing to the Buddha rice cakes and honey, offering the same to him as a present from themselves. The Buddha thought that "the Tathâgata do not take any food in their hands; how then shall I receive these rice cakes and honey?" Upon this the four Mahârâjas of the four directions produced before him four stone utensils, in which the Buddha received the offered rice cakes and honey. These two merchants thus became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. This account in the *Mahâvagga* is confirmed by the inscription on the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, which dates from the year 1485 during the reign of king Dhammacheti. This king sent out eleven monks to Ceylon to enable them to receive their Upasampadâ consecration at the celebrated Mahâvihâra; since their own ordination had become null, as they had not observed the prescriptions of the *Vinaya*. The pagoda of Shwe Dagon itself is said to have been built in the life time of Gotama; though, of course, this is mere legend. The inscription repeats the account as given in the *Mahâvagga* and adds that both the merchants received eight hairs from Gotama, which they took back to their country and enshrined in their pagoda on the summit of the Tamagatta Mount, east of the city of Asitanjaṇagara.

Both these accounts differ only in one essential point. For while in the *Mahâvagga*, the two merchants came from Ukkalâ overland, the Shwe Dagon inscription states that this journey was made by ship. From this it appears that the compiler of the *Mahâvagga* understood Ukkalâ to be Orissa, which is a province of India, from where one could journey overland to the Râjâyatana tree. Dhammaceti, on the other hand, the author of the inscription on the Shwe Dagon, understood by Ukkalâ the territory at the foot of the Shwe Dagon Hill stretching up to the Irâvadi, where a number of colonists from further India must have settled at an early date. Hence he makes the two merchants voyage in a ship.

When we look into the later Buddhist Literature we find the history of Tapussa and Bhallika also in the commentary of Buddhaghosha to the *Vinaya* and to the *Anguttaranikâya*, which is a production of the 5th Christian century. There also the city from where they came and where they erected the pagoda on their return is called Asitanjananagara, just as in the inscription on the Shwe Dagon. Accordingly, there seems to be no doubt that Buddhaghosha, too, the most celebrated of the later Buddhist theologians, had in his mind Burma and not Orissa, and that the Shwe Dagon Pagoda was actually built on the spot, where the two merchants buried the hair relics presented to them by Gotama. The name Dagon can be traced to an old Tikumbha "the three alms bowls", and with this is linked the legend that Gotama and his two favourite disciples, Sâriputta and Moggallâna had buried their alms bowls at that place. The name came into use first in the 16th century, while before that time the pagoda was called Singuttaracheti. Buddhaghosha's testimony is, therefore, of special value, in as much as he composed the greater number of his *Commentaries* in Burma, after he had spent some time in Ceylon with a view to study the sacred scriptures at the latter place. The Burmese historians even assert that he was born in their country. But this is contradicted by the evidence of the Mahâvansa, which alleges his birth place to be in the vicinity of the holy Bodhi Tree, and, therefore, is not to be accepted as a historical fact. The identity of Ukkalâ and Burma, as asserted by Buddhaghosha, is no doubt, (as Kern indicates,) in conflict with the statement of the *Lalita-Vistâra*, which places the home of the two merchants in a country to the north of the Deccan, and it likewise is not in accord with the information of the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuan-Thsang, who makes the merchants come from Baktria. But the *Lalita-Vistara* has proved itself in many cases to be an unreliable source and the expression "northern country" is so vague that it might indicate almost any country. As regards Hiuan-Thsang he is a great authority for Northern Buddhism; but, he has little knowledge of Southern Buddhism, and when his evidence is in conflict with that of Buddhaghosha, we must explicitly give precedence to the latter.

We assume, therefore, that the first two lay disciples of Gotama originally came from Burma; but that is not the same thing as to say that Buddhism had already been introduced into Burma by that time. That event took place after the Council of Pâṭaliputra, which was held under the patronage of king Aśoka. At this Council, at the suggestion of Tissa Moggaliputta, it was resolved to send out missionaries to various directions with a view to proselytise the surrounding countries to Buddhism. Both the children of king Aśoka, Mahinda and Sanghamittâ, went over to Ceylon; to Burma went the apostles Sona and Uttara. These two arrived there after a long journey, because the country was at that time in the possession of a sea monster who was working havoc there. The apostles succeeded in destroying the monster and naturally gained unexpected success in their mission of proselytisation. Two-thousand-five-hundred men and one-thousand-five-hundred women forthwith accepted monkhood, and the kings of the country thence-forward bore the name of Sonuttara.

The port where Sona and Uttara landed in Burma was called Golanagara or Golamattikânagara, and lay some twenty miles north-west of the capital, Thatôn. The late Doctor

Forchhammer, who rendered considerable service to the archeology of Burma, discovered there tolerably extensive ruins which go to prove an old settlement at the place. The name of the city in an inscription at Kalyâni belonging to the 15th century is explained so as to suggest that it consisted of earthen houses after the style of those constructed by the Gaula or Gola in India. It was also probably an old Indian colony from pre-Christian times similar to the one mentioned above at the foot of the Shwe Dagon Hill. In the 16th Century the city was called Takkala, and at present it is named Ayetthima. Forchhammer attempted to identify this Golanagara with the territory called Kalah mentioned by Arab geographers, and accordingly propounded quite a new hypothesis with reference to a question which had already been taken up by Sir Emerson Tennent and others. The Arabs speak about a kingdom, which bore the name of Zabedj and extended in the 8th and 9th Centuries over the Islands to the south and east of Malacca, and consequently to Java, Borneo, Sumatra, etc. To this kingdom belonged likewise the southern extremity of India and also the country in question called Kalah. This place was the centre of commerce in aloes, camphor, sandlewood, ivory, and lead. The ships coming from the east, China, and from the west, Persia, met at Kalah and exchanged their respective commodities. This Kalah therefore, must have been situated somewhere in the Indian Ocean and the supposition of Sir Emerson Tennent that it would be Point-de-Galle in Ceylon has nothing improbable about it. Even this day Ceylon constitutes the centre of commerce and the meeting point of passengers in the Indian Ocean, and if Point-de-Galle has been replaced as a port in course of centuries by Colombo, it was because the port of Point-de-Galle is in the first place unsafe, and secondly, because, it was the government which directed the intercourse towards the capital Colombo. In the accounts of the Arab geographers we come across a group of islands which must have existed in the vicinity of this ancient Kalah, and this has probably placed us on the right track. Sir Emerson Tennent thinks in this connection of the Maldive Islands but that is scarcely probable, because, the Maldive Islands lie two and a half days' journey west of Point-de-Galle, a situation which must have proved one of great distance for the then commercial circumstances. Perhaps we would be nearer the mark if we understood by Kalah the north-west coast of Ceylon, for, as a matter of fact there does exist a group of islands in close proximity, which constitutes what is called the Adams Bridge, and which was even a connecting link with the main land in pre-historic times. In the immediate neighbourhood of Kalah lived according to Cosmas Indicopleustes the king who had the hyacinth (*ὁ εις εχων τὸν ὑακινθον*) which is an attempt at transcribing the precious stone district in Ceylon at present called Sabara Gamuva, and with it was connected the land where the pepper goods *i.e.* the district between Puttalam and Adams Peak which is known in modern times by the name of Maha Oya. The Arab geographer Abu Zayid further narrates that the country in his time was subject to two kings . . . . the one was the Sultan of Zabej whose domination extended over Malacca, the Sunda Islands, and Travancore, the other was a Singhalese king who lived as a dependent on the Sultan.

Of another opinion is the author of the anonymous work on Ceylon which appeared in 1876 in London under the title, "Ceylon, a general description of the Island, historical, physical, and statistical." He is of the view that the vessels which plied between China and Persia must have sailed from Cape Comorin straight over the Gulf of Bengal to the Nicobar Islands ; they must have touched at the port of Kalah which must have been in that case one of the islands or peninsulas belonging to Hinter India, possibly, the modern Kedah near Penang. There is nothing more to adduce in support of this hypothesis except the more or less questionable similarity of pronunciation between Kedah and Kalah. This hypothesis, however, has more of probability in it than that of Forch-hammer, because, the vessels must have sailed past Kedah, while in order

to call a halt at Golanagara, they would have to make a long detour towards the north. I therefore, remain an adherent of the view of Sir Emerson Tennent concerning the situation of Kalah; only for Point-de-Galle I would substitute the north-west coast of the Island of Ceylon.[1]

We will now leave Burma and the questions connected with it and cast a glance at the Sunda Islands. The date of the first colonisation is here also a matter of doubt, though the place whence the colonists immigrated was in all probability Kalinga, the district to the north of the mouth of the Godavary. The name Kalinga or Kaling, which is the designation bestowed by the Chinese on the Javanese, is no strong proof of this, for, the Chinese so call all the Indians who crossed over the ocean to the Celestial Empire. But it is very likely that they originally came from there, because it was also the provenance of the Singhalese. The Chinese Pilgrim Fa-Hian, who landed at Java about the year 413 on his return voyage from India to China, and sojourned there for a time, found an Indian civilisation in full growth. Brahmans and the so called heretics, as Fa-Hian calls all Shaivites, were in large numbers, while there were few or no Buddhists at all. This is confirmed by Sanskrit inscriptions in western Java and east Borneo, which to judge by the formation of the alphabet must be at the latest as old as the 5th Century. From these inscriptions, which are of a Vaishnavite character, we can conclude that both Java and the east coast of Borneo were hinduised prior to the 5th Century. Moreover, we learn from a Chinese report that in the year 435 there reigned in Java a prince, whose name was the pure Indian Dhâravarman and his title Śrîpâla. We possess documents belonging to Java and composed in its native language, the *Kavi* from the 9th Century. From this it follows that about that time the country was completely Hinduised and that there were traces of Buddhism in the Mahâyâna form. Probably, the Buddhists had immigrated to Sumatra and Malacca in the 5th Century soon after Fa-Hian's visit. This is supported by the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kedah and province Wellesley, as well as of the celebrated temple of Boro Bodor, the most extensive Buddhist structure in existence. According to the opinion of Fergusson and Burgess, the temple was completed in the 7th Century and its construction must have taken somewhere about a hundred years so that its building was probably commenced in the 6th Century.

We find Indian influence equally in Sumatra, although not in such a high degree as in Java and Bali. The alphabet which is used in Sumatra can be traced to an Indian origin, and the language has adopted a number of Sanskrit words. There are tolerably numerous names of places of Sanskrit origin. Buddhism must have flourished there from the 10th to the 14th Centuries, as can be inferred from several inscriptions and ancient buildings. Of all the islands of the Archipelago, Java alone seems to have admitted the division into castes according to the Hindu model, and this is an indication of Brahmanical and not Buddhist influence, for the Buddhist strove to do away with caste. The most prominent Brahmanical sect in Java was the Shaivite. Shaivism and Buddhism were the two officially recognised religions in Java, just as they are in Nepal of to-day where the King and the ruling classes are Shaivites, whereas the mass of the people do homage to the Buddha. We even find a kind of syncretism of both the religions in Java, in as much as the Buddha is regarded and adored as younger brother of Śiva. At great festivals like that of Pañchavalikrama, it so happens that four Shaivite and one Buddhistic priests officiate in co-operation. The Buddhist priest turns his face towards the south, three of the Shaivites facing the three remaining cardinal points and the fourth sitting in the centre. We see from this that the Buddhists of the Sunda Islands were far from fanatics and allowed the adherents of other faiths to live there undisturbed. The situation was probably similar to that obtaining in Ceylon though in an inverted order, for the Buddhists were the first to occupy Ceylon, Hinduism having crept into the island only at a subsequent period along with Tamil immigrants. There, too, we meet with, as at Dondra on the southern coast, in one and the same temple images of the Buddha, of Vishṇu, of Gaṇeśa, and the holy Bull from Tanjore, all of them being installed there without mutual disturbance or error in the prayers offered by the faithful of these various creeds.

[1] There is much more to be said for Kalah=Kedah than the author seems to be aware of.—ED.

PARAMAJOTISTOTRA

An Old Braja Metrical Version of Siddhasenadivâkara's Kalyâṇamandirastotra.

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I found this vernacular version of the famous *stotra* by Siddhasenadivâkara in a Jaina MS. pertaining to the Indian Collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. The MS. is registered in Pavolini's catalogue under No. 674. It consists of 15 leaves, with 12 lines on each page, but it is unfortunately incomplete, some leaves at the end having been lost. As the colophon is wanting, it is not possible to fix the date of the MS., but the general appearance of the paper and of the script are sufficient to show that it was copied at a comparatively modern time. On the cover we read the title, *Digambarastotrâṇi*, which is quite probably the title we should find in the colophon, if the last leaf of the MS. had been preserved to us. It is, in fact, a collection of *stotras*, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Bhâshâ, of which only the first four have been preserved. These are the following :—

(*a*) The *Pañchamaṅgala* by Rûpachanda, in Old Braja, from page 1b down to page 8a. It contains 25 stanzas in all, divided into five parts named respectively: (1) *Prathamamaṅgala*, (2) *Janamamaṅgala*, (3) *Tapakalyâṇaka*, (4) *Jñânakalyâṇaka*, (5) *Nirvâṇakalyâṇaka*. It is a *maṅgalagîta* commemorating the five most salient points in the life of the Trailokyanâtha Sudevajinavara, from the dreams seen by the mother of the Jina down to his attainment of the *nirvâṇa*. In the last stanza (25th) the author records his name.

(*b*) The *Vishâpahârastotra* by Dhanaṃjaya, in 39 Sanskrit stanzas.

(*c*) The *Aikîbhâvastotra* by Vâdirâja, in 26 Sanskrit stanzas.

(*d*) The *Paramajotistotra*, in Old Braja, from page 14a down to the foot of page 15b, deficient at the end, owing to the loss of the subsequent leaves of the MS. The text reaches to the beginning of stanza 26 and, therefore, 18 stanzas are wanting.

Though incomplete, this *Paramajotistotra* is, no doubt, of the greatest interest. It derives its value partly from its excellence as a translation ; partly also, and perhaps chiefly, from the particular form of language, in which it is couched. The work is, in fact, a metrical version of Siddhasena-divâkara's *Kalyâṇamandirastotra*, in which the author has displayed an ability that is very rarely found in similar works. It was, indeed, no easy matter to put into a different language the often intricate meaning of the Sanskrit *stotra*, retaining all the puns that are met at almost every step in the latter ; and, what is more, to put it into stanzas having verses rhyming with each other and corresponding exactly in number with the *vasantatilakâ*s in the original ; even to outdo the very Sanskrit text in conciseness, by recasting the whole content of each *vasantatilakâ*—without omitting any important particular—into stanzas numbering a smaller amount of syllables. How far the author has succeeded in this effort, the reader will judge for himself. In some passages, indeed, the vernacular version seems to be much more elegant than the Sanskrit original by Siddhasena itself. The work takes its name of *Paramajotistotra* from its beginning, after the example of the *Kalyâṇamandirastotra* itself and of many other *stotra*s of a similar kind, such as the renowned *Bhaktâmara*.

As to the probable author of the version—though it cannot be presumed that any positive conclusion on this question will ever be attained, owing to the scanty evidence,—I think there is a circumstance that may perhaps lead to his determination. Namely, the fact that the *Paramajotistotra* shares with the *Pañchamaṅgala*, the first work in the collection, not only the same language, but even the same linguistic peculiarities; and that the external affinity between the two works is such that it cannot be explained except by the assumption that both of them were composed in the same place and at about the same time, and, perhaps, even by the same poet. If it be correct to go as far as

the latter conclusion, it is with the Rûpacanda of the *Pañchamaṅgala* that the author of our version should be identified.

Turning to the form of the language in which the *Paramajotistotra* is written, I have to make some further observations concerning what has been stated above. The language is, in fact, Old Braja, but this statement would be altogether incorrect, if it were understood to imply that the version was made within the area where Braja is spoken at the present day. It is well known (and here I mean to refer chiefly to Sir G. Grierson's authority) that in former times the use of the Braja Bhâkhâ was spread towards the West far beyond the limits of the territory, where it was spoken. Indeed, for many centuries Braja has been the common polite language, in which poets of the Western Gangetic Valley, Rajputana and even Gujarat used to compose their works. When so used for literary purposes by the poets of the West, it was called Piṅgaḷa, and in contradistinction to it the dialects peculiar to each of the various countries, when they were used in poetry, were called Ḍiṅgaḷa. But the use of the latter for literary purposes seems never to have been so widely extended as that of the former. Now, it can be easily conceived that the adoption of the Braja by the poets in such countries as possessed a vernacular of their own, and differing from it, could not take place without the Braja growing more or less corrupt through the introduction of strange elements and foreign words, borrowed from the peculiar dialect of the writer. The resultant, then, was a form of language, that in its main features was Braja, but at the same time contained many peculiarities, which were not consistent with the latter and could be explained only by a direct reference to Mârwâṛî or Gujarâtî.

This is precisely the case with the language, in which our *Paramajotistotra* is composed. It is Old Braja mixed with alien elements, which clearly point to the West for their origin. Such are: सुपिनाँ "dreams," कर्मां-तणी "of the actions,"[1] two instances of the plurals in—आ as are met in all the dialects of the Râjasthânî and Gujarâtî; ए "this, these," for the singular and plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun, which in Braja ought to be यह and ये respectively; जे "who," for the plural of the relative pronoun, instead of the Braja forms जौ or जो; भणि "says," for the third person singular of the simple present, instead of भणै, which is the only form that is possible in Braja; करै है "is doing," an instance of the definite present, which is not very common in Braja, whilst it becomes the rule in Mârwâṛî and in the other dialects of the West; होसी "will be," an example of the sigmatic future, which is not found to exist in the Western Hindî, etc. Indeed, some of these as well as other forms, besides pointing to the West, seem to point also to an early stage in the formation of the vernaculars. In other words there are some peculiarities, which, though they may happen to have their correspondents in the dialects of Rajputana and of Gujarat, might be as well explained by a direct reference to the Apabhraṃça. Such are for instance: the postpositions तणो and तणी of the genitive, which are liable to be directly chained to the corresponding forms: तणउ and तणी in the Apabhraṃça; the inflected locative singular ending in -ए, -इ, of which there are traces in all forms of Bhâshâ and which likewise occurs in the Apabhraṃça; the pronominal forms कौण "who?" for the interrogative pronoun, and किम "how?" for the interrogative adverb of manner, both of which are derived from the Apabhraṃça forms: कवण and कें, and the latter has spread so far in the East that it is found even in the Old Baiswâṛi of Tulasî Dâsa; and finally the forms जारिसौ, तारिसौ, for the pronominal adjectives of manner, which are even older than the corresponding forms जइसउ, तइसउ of the Apabhraṃça, and for the explanation of which one must refer to the Prâkrit. Further, there are some other forms, which are rather to be considered as Kanaujî peculiarities, like इहि, जिहि, किहि,[2] which are used for the oblique singular of the

[1] These two forms, as well as some of the others mentioned below, are not met in the *Paramajotistotra*, but only in the *Pañchamangala*

[2] The MS. often reads इह, जिह, &c.

pronouns. Quite peculiar are the forms हौहि "is" and हौहिँ "are," for the 3rd persons singular and plural of the simple present of the substantive verb, both used in their original indicative meaning and therefore corresponding to the Braja है and हैँ, respectively. I believe, they are to be explained as having arisen from two hypothetical forms : *हवाहि (हवइ) and *हवहिँ of the Apabhramça, which, though they have not yet been found, may reasonably be supposed to have existed beside the more recent forms होइ and हौंति. As for the इ being retained in the terminations : हि, -हिँ, instances of the same are not wanting in Old Hindî. Lastly, there will be noticed the use of the old genitive in-इ, which is also commonly found in the Old Gujarâtî as well as in Canda's poetry, and in the latter it appears to have superseded almost all other cases. In the same way, it will be found used with a meaning different from that of the genitive case in the example गुणइ गभीर in the 2nd caupâî of the *Paramajotistotra*.

The conclusion, then, to be drawn is that the *Paramajotistotra* was written at a rather early period in the history of the Bhâshâs, which it is not possible to determine at the present day, and in a country lying to the West of the area where Braja was spoken. Whether this country was Rajputana or Gujarat, cannot be easily ascertained. The fact that some of the Western peculiarities, that have been treated of above—as for instance ए for the singular of the demonstrative pronoun and किम for the interrogative adverb of manner—seem to point rather to Gujarâtî than to Râjasthânî, is of no great account in this question, as at that time the difference between the vernaculars of Gujarat and of Rajputana was much less distinct than at the present day. Be it remembered that both forms of speech have come out of the same stock, *viz.*, the Çaurasenî Apabhramça, and that their mutual connection still appears as a very close one, if we only compare the Old Gujarâtî with the Old Mârwârî.

I need not expend words in illustrating the contents or showing the literary importance of the *Kalyâṇamandirastotra*,—the original, of which our *Paramajotistotra* is a version—nor shall I dwell on its being an imitation of Mânatuṅga's *Bhaktâmarastotra*, and still less on the questions concerning the probable identification of its author Siddhasenadivâkara. For all these particulars, the reader may directly refer to Prof. Jacobi's introduction to the edition of the *stotra* in the **Indische Studien** (Vol. XIV [Leipzig, 1875], pp. 376-377) and to Paṇḍit Durgâ Prasâda's introductory note to the edition of the same *stotra* in the **Kâvyamâlâ** (Guchchhaka VII [Bombay, 1907], p. 10). Let me only say, in explanation of the fact that the present version is included in a Digambara MS., that the *Kalyâṇamandirastotra* is read by the Digambaras as well as by the Çvetâmbaras.

The metre, in which the *Paramajotistotra* is arranged, is partly the *chaupâî*, partly the *dohâ*. The part of the work, that has been preserved to us, comprises 26 stanzas in all, out of which 18 are *chaupâîs* and the other 8 are *dohâs*. The first stanza, from the initial words of which the version takes its name, is not found in the Sanskrit original, and is, therefore, to be regarded as an addition by the vernacular poet.

As regards the Braja text, which follows below, I wish further to note that I have tried faithfully to reproduce the reading of the MS., as far as it was consistent with the laws of grammar and prosody. So, I have kept purposely unchanged :—the sign ष, without substituting for it ख ; the frequent inorganic nasalization of the vowel आ, before ण, न, म, ह ; the frequent substitution of अ for original इ, उ, and of ण for न[3], etc. On the other hand, I have silently corrected all evident blunders like the substitution of ऊ for उ and the omission of the dot of the nasals, and I have kept carefully distinguished from the व the ब, for which the MS. has no special sign. All other cases, in which I venture to differ from the reading of the MS., will be found recorded in the critical notes at the foot of the text. Their being so copious should not be imputed to any excess of scrupulosity on my part, but rather to the great incorrectness of the MS.

[3] The latter substitution is to be regarded as a Western peculiarity.

अथ परमजोतिस्तोत्र ॥

दोहा

परम-जोति परमातमा परम-ज्ञाँन-परवीन ।
वन्दौँ परमानन्द मैँ घटि घटि अन्तरलीन ॥ १ ॥

चौपाई

निर्भै-करन परम-परधाँन । भव-समुद्र-जल-तारण जाँण ।
शिव-मन्दिर अघ-हरन अनिन्द । वन्दौँ पास-चरण-अरविन्द ॥ १ ॥
कमठ-माँन-भञ्जन-वर-वीर । गिरमा[4]-सागर गुणह गभीर ।
सुरगुर पार लहै नहिँ जास । मैँ अजाँन जपहूँ जस तास ॥ २ ॥
प्रभु-सरूप अति-अगम अथाँह । क्यौँ हम-सै-पै होय निबाँह ।
ज्यौँ दिन-अन्ध अलू[5]-कौ पोत । कहि न सकै रवि-किरण-उद्योत ॥ ३ ॥
मोह-हीन जाँणै मन-माँहिँ । तो-उ न तुम गुण वरणै जाँहिँ ।
प्रलै पयोधि करै जल-वौन[6] । प्रगटै रतन गिणै ते कौण ॥ ४ ॥
तुम असंषि-निरमल-गुण-षाँनि । मैँ मति-हीन कहौँ निज-वाँनि ।
ज्यौँ बालक निज-बाह पसारि । सागर-परमति कहै विचारि ॥ ५ ॥
जे जोगेन्द्र करै तप-षेद । ते-उ न जाँणैँ तुम गुण भेद ।
भाव भगति मनि मुझ अभिलाष । ज्यौँ पँषी बोलै निज-भाष ॥ ६ ॥
तुम जस माहिमा अगम अपार । नाँव एक त्रिभुवन-आधार ।
आवै पवन पदम-सरि होय । ग्रीषम-तपति निवारै सोय ॥ ७ ॥
तुम आवत भवि-जन घट-माँहिँ । कर्म-बन्ध सिथल होय जाँहिँ ।
ज्यौँ चन्दन-तरि बोलै मोर । डरैँ भुयङ्ग लगे चहुँ ओर ॥ ८ ॥
तुम निरषत जन दीन-दयाल । संकट-तै छूटैँ ततकाल ।
ज्यौँ पसु घेरि लेहिँ निसि चोर । ते तजि भागत देषत भोर ॥ ९ ॥
तुम भवि-जन-तारक किम होय । ते चित धारि तिरैँ ले तोय ।
यौँ ऐसौ करि जाँणि सुभाव । तिरै मसक ज्यौँ गरभित-बाव ॥ १० ॥
जिनि सब देव किये वसि वाँम । तैँ छिन-मैँ जीत्यौ सो काँम ।
जौ जल करै अगन-कुल-हाँनि । वडवानल पीवै सो पाँनि ॥ ११ ॥
तुम अनन्त-गरवा-गुण लिये । क्यौँ करि भगति-धरौ[7] निज-हिये ।
व्है लघु-रूप तिरैँ संसार । यह प्रभु-महिमा अगम अपार ॥ १२ ॥
क्रोध-निवार किये मन-शान्ति । कर्म-सुभट जीते किहि भाँति ।

१) परमात्मा, ज्ञांन; १) अनंद; २) गंभीर, नही, जपू; ३) पूत, कह, कीरण; ४) जाणै, माहि, परसै (instead of प्रलै), कोण; ५) मुति, कहौ; ७) महमा, ऐक, त्रिभवन, सिर; ८) कर्मनिबंध, भयंग, उर; ९) छूटै; १०) तवि (instead of भवि), यो, ऐसो; ११) जिन, कीये, क्यौ, हाणि, पांन; १२) येह, महमां; १३) कीयो, किह, पटंतर, नीरलविरष.

[4] For: गरिमा ;

[5] From: अलूक ≤ उलूक ;

[6] Contracted form from वमन.

[7] An instance of the emphatic particle हू having combined with the final inherent अ of the word to which it was added.

यह पटतर देष्यौ संसार। नील-विरष ज्यौँ दहै तुसार॥ १३॥

मुनि-जन हिये कमल निज टोहि। सिद्ध-रूप समध्यावैँ तोहि।
कमल-कर्णिका विन नहिँ और। कमल-बीज उपजन-की ठौर॥ १४॥

जब तुम ध्यौँन धरै मुनि कोय। तब विदेह परमात्मा होय।
जैसै धात सिलातन त्यागि। कनक-सरूप धरै जब आगि॥ १५॥

जा-कै मनि तुम करै निवास। विनसि जाय क्यौँ विग्रह तास।
ज्यौँ महन्त विचि आवै कोय। विग्रह-मूल निवारै सोय॥ १६॥

करैँ विविध जे आत्मा-ध्यौँन। तुम प्रभाव-तै होय निधाँन।
जैसै नीर सुधा अनुमाँनि। पींवत विष-विकार-की हाँनि॥ १७॥

ज्यौँ भगवन्त विमल-गुण-लीन। समल-रूप माँनै मति-हीन।
जौ नीलिया-रोग द्रिग गहै। वरन विवरन सङ्ख सौ कहै॥ १८॥

दोहा

निकट रहत उपदेस सुनि तर-वर भये असोक[8]।
ज्यौँ रवि उगतै जीव सब प्रगट होत भव-लोक॥ १९॥

समन-वृष्टि जे सुर करैँ हेठ वृन्त-मुष सोय।
त्यौँ तुम सेवत सुमन-जन बन्ध अधोमुष होय॥ २०॥

उपजि तुम हिये उदधि-तै वाँनी सुधा-समाँन।
जिहि पींवत भवि-जन लहैँ अजर-अमर-पद-थाँन॥ २१॥

करैँ इसार तिहुँ लोक-कौँ ये सुर-चाँमर दोय।[8]
भाव-सहित जो जिन नमै तासु गति उरध होय॥ २२॥

सिङ्घासन गिरि मेरु सम प्रभु-ध्वनि गराजित घोर।
स्याँम सुतन घन-रूप लषि नाचत भवि-जन-मोर॥ २३॥

छवि-हत होहिँ असोक-दल तुम-भा-मण्डल देषि।
वीतराग-के निकट रहि रहै नैराग विसेषि॥ २४॥
सीष कहै तिहुँ लोक-कौँ ए सुर-दुन्दभि-नाद।
शिव-पथ-सारथवाह जिन भज्यौ तज्यौ परमाद॥ २५॥
तीन छत्र त्रिभुवन उदित . . . .
. . . .

१४) हीये, कीर्णिक (for कर्णिका), विना, नही, ओर, ठोर; १५) परमात्म, धवै, आग; १६) विनिसि, ज्यौ (instead of क्यौँ), विगृह; १७) विविधि, आत्म, निर; १८) मुति, ज्यौ, गह, स्यो; १९) उगत; २०) वृष्टे, कैर है, वीठ (for वृन्त), सोई, अधौमुष हाइ; २१) उपजी, हीये, जिह, भवी; २२) ईसार, स्वर (for सुर), सहत, तसु, होई; २३) गिर, मेरि; २५) जिम; २६) त्रिभवन.

[8] Observe that the *caraṇa* is faulty.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT.

BY P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M.A.; VIZAGAPATAM.

IT is frequently urged, as one of the excellences of Sanskrit, that its alphabet is scientific and perfect, unlike the English alphabet, which is both superfluous and defective. But it is not so well-known, that while the spelling of Sanskrit words is fixed for all time, its pronunciation varies so much from province to province that there are comparatively few letters whose values are the same all over India. When this is pointed out to a Hindu, his first impulse is to maintain that his pronunciation, *i. e.*, that of his district, is the correct, ancient one of Pâṇini and the Rishis that preceded him, and that all others are wrong. I have heard a Tamil Brâhmaṇ (and a professor in a Government College who has passed a high Examination in the Science of Language) maintain that the Tamil pronunciation of Sanskrit is the only perfect thing, though the Tamil land is several thousand miles far from that where Sanskrit was first evolved, and though Sanskrit did not reach the Tamil land until many hundred years after it was born. On the other hand I have known Hindi gentlemen, great Sanskrit scholars, believe that the confusion in speech between *sh* and *ś* prevalent in North India was part of the original perfection of the Sanskrit (perfected) tongue! As a matter of fact there is no right or wrong in these matters. As every flower has a right to exist and the one with narrow petals is not more correct than the one with broad ones, all forms of pronunciation are correct, each in the district or caste or clan where it prevails, and no one form is superior to another. Pronunciation, like other manifestations of life, changes in accordance with individual environment.

Firstly as time goes on the sounds of a language change. It has been proved that Sanskrit has levelled down original Indo-Germanic *a*, *e* and *o* into one uniform *a*, whereas the original sounds have been preserved in Greek, Latin and other languages. *Cf.* Sans. *pañcha*, *janas*, Gr. *pente*, *genos* : Sans. *cha*, Lat. *que* ; Sans. *chal*, A. S. *hweol* ; in all which cases the Sanskrit *a* is a later formation than the *e* or *o* of the other languages. That Sanskrit long *e* and long *o* are developments of *ai* and *au* is well-known to our Grammarians, but this is only a case of Indo-Germanic *ai*, *ei*, and *oi* becoming first *ai* and then long *e* in Sanskrit and *au*, *eu* and *ou* first becoming *au* and then long *o*. Compare Gk. *aithos*, Sans. *êdhas*, Gk. *teichos*, Sans. *dêha* ; Gk. *oida*, Sans. *vêda* ; Lat. *aug-ere*, Sans. *ôjas* ; Gk. *reuma*, Sans. *srô-tas*. While Sanskrit has wandered further from the parent Indo-Germanic in its vowel system than its sister-languages, it has preserved the original consonant system better. But even here, there have been wide changes. In the Indo-Germanic there were two sets of *k* sounds, as to-day Arabic has, a velar and a palatal. These as well as the labialized velars were fronted, when followed by front vowels *e*, *i*. ; thence arose in Sanskrit the sounds of *ś*, *j*, *h*, *k*, *ch*, etc. Thus the roots *śî*, *jîv*, *har*, *kal*, *chal* represent an earlier *kei*, *gwei*, *gher*, *qel*, *qwel*.

Most of these changes from the Indo-Germanic to the Sanskrit have been revealed by the historical study of languages conducted by modern investigators. The method of Sanskrit Grammarians was purely analytical; it consisted in tracing forms to their roots (real or imaginary) and it is obvious that this method cannot but lead to laws of word formation, which may be practically useful but are not true as facts of history. The study of the growth of man based on anatomical considerations and intelligent inferences from the dissection of a number of corpses as to how man's body must have been put together may lead to very interesting results, but these results are likely to be very different from the real story of man as revealed by Comparative Zoology and Embryology. Psychology, till recently, analysed the grown man's mind into faculties and proceeded exactly like Pâṇini's grammar; and as the growing science of Comparative Psychology has upset the old Psychology, so Comparative Grammar has upset the older Sanskrit Grammar. Thus in *ê-ti*, the *e* representing *ei* of Indo-Germanic is surely not derived from *i*, the so-called root. The *k* of *mukta*, *rikta*, is not a modification of *ch* as Pâṇini says, because the Indo-Germanic analogue of their so-called roots *much*, *rich*, are *meuk*, *leikw* ; similarly the *gh* of *ghnanti* is more primitive than the *h* of *hanti*.

But even taking Pâṇini at the usual Hindu valuation, there are many difficulties in utilizing his *sûtras* in an investigation of Sanskrit pronunciation. His last *sûtra* is "*aa*" (VIII., iv., 68) and is usually interpreted to mean that though in the body of the *sûtras* vowels have been described to be open (*vivṛita*), short *a* is not open, but close (*saṁvṛita*). This information can be utilized only if we know for certain how short *a* was pronounced by Pâṇini. This letter is pronounced in South India like the *u* of 'but' when accented and like the shortened form of the *e* in 'her' when unaccented. In Northern India when it is unaccented it loses all individuality and practically vanishes. In Bengal and Orissa, the accented *a* approximates to *o*. In which of these ways did Pâṇini intend the *saṁvṛita a* to be made? This is a question difficult to answer. And then there is the further question, whether these different pronunciations of *a* are far off reminiscences of the fact that Sanskrit *a* represents Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, and *o*. Again in modern Hindî we certainly hear short *e* and short *o*. Whence come these sounds?

It is fairly well-known that the Hindus are divided into two great groups, the five Gauḍas and the five Drâviḍas. These groups are distinguished from each other, firstly by the fact that the Brahmans of the former group eat fish and the flesh of "five five-nailed" animals, and those of the latter do not, and secondly by the fact that the Drâviḍas pronounce ष and ज्ञ as *sh* and *y*, and the Gauḍas in many cases pronounce them *kh* and *j*. Thus when they begin words or syllables, there are invariably *kh* and *j*; *jama*, *jamunâ*, *khaṭ*, *pûkhar*, *y* in the middle of a syllable is *y* as in *syât*; *sh* when it is the first part of a conjunct consonant is sometimes attempted to be pronounced, and then it approximates to *s*, thus *shashṭi* becomes *khasṭi*. *ñ*, the nasal of *ch*-series is pronounced alike throughout India, when it preceded *ch* or *j*, but when it succeeds *j* as in the words *yajña* or *jñâna*, it is pronounced differently in different parts of India. The Tamil has in his own tongue a distinct *ñ* sound, occurring by itself in words, *e. g.*, *ñâyiṛu* but it cannot be easily pronounced after *j*, so he pronounces these words as *yagña*, *gñâna*. The North Indian makes the first word *jagya* and the second *gyâna*; the Maratha makes the former *yadnya*.

As regards sibilants, there are four sounds, the English *s*, the Tamil *ś*, the English *sh*, and the Indian *sh* sounds, all made by the friction of air passing between the palate, beginning from behind the teeth and gradually receding to the mid palate. There is no difficulty with regard to the first of these sounds. The second is the sound made in South India and the third in North India when reading ज्ञ. Seeing that Pâṇini was a Sindhî, it is probable that he followed the modern North Indian practice. South Indians claim that their pronunciation of this letter is the proper one, but there is no shadow of evidence to prove this, though when a South Indian speaks Sanskrit, the ear can much more readily detect the difference between ज्ञ and ष. But this is perhaps due to the fact that to the South Indian, Sanskrit is absolutely a foreign language, his mother tongue belonging to the Dravidian family and he is therefore *plus royaliste que le roi*. With regard to the last of these sounds, too, there is a difficulty. The Drâviḍa makes the sound by doubling the tongue, and contacting the blade with the middle of the palate. The Gauḍa makes a *kh* of it. Where the South Indian reads *tushâra*, the Gauḍa reads *tukhâra*. The Gauḍa and not the Drâviḍa has spoken Sanskritic languages continuously from the beginning of the historic age in India, and hence his pronunciation must be regarded as the genuine Sanskrit pronunciation and the Drâviḍa one but a modification of it by a foreign tribe attempting to acquire it. The main language of Afghanistan is Pashto in its S. W. parts and Pakhto in the N. E. Here we have over again the Drâviḍa-Gauḍa difference. The S.W. *sh* may be due to the proximity of a Dravidian language, the Brâhûî. It is to be noted that Herodotus speaks of them *Paktues* and the Rig Veda refers to them as *Pakthas*. Apparently Pakhto was the ancient form and Pashto a recent one. This fact renders it probable that ष was *kh* in Sanskrit till the Drâviḍas made it into *sh*. This view will react on the discussion of certain problems of linguistic science. Collitz derives *ksheti* from a root *kshei* and *kshayati* and *kshinâti*, both from a root *ghshei*. But it is a disputed question whether the Indo-Germanic had a *sh* sound. If, as with the Gauḍas, Sanskrit ष is really *kh* and *ksh* is really *kkh* and if ज्ञ developed from Indo-Germanic *k* ought to be pronounced *sh*, the above disputed question ought to be rediscussed in the light of this. As an example of a mis-

take due to the ignorance of the Gauḍa pronunciation of Sanskrit, I may mention that such a scholar as Bloomfield in his *Religion of the Veda*, p. 54, speaking of the Persian translation of the Upanishads made for Dara, says that "the Persian pronunciation of the word *upanishad* is oupanekat", whereas it is the Gauḍa pronunciation. Idg. *sweks* became Skt. षट्, which Gauḍas pronounce *khash*; Idg. *skeub* became क्षुभ्, which Gauḍas make *khubh*. In this connection it must be remembered that Idg. *sw* in some cases become *s* in Sanskrit and *kh*(*w*) in Persian; thus the Persian analogue for *svedas* is *kh*(*w*)*ay*, for *svasar* is *kh*(*w*)*â har*, and for *sû-karas* is *khûk*. Curiously enough Idg. *kw* when fronted by the influence of front vowels becomes *s* in Persian, corresponding to Skt. *ś*; thus Idg. *kweit*, Skt. *śvētas*, Pers. *safîd*. Hence the history of Skt. ष् ought to be rediscussed in the light of these facts.

Scientific conclusions on the gradual changes of Sanskrit sounds are vitiated by four facts, (1) Maharashṭras have been the main teachers of Sanskrit Grammar for the past two centuries or more and have imposed their Drâviḍa pronunciation on Sanskrit; and European Scholars have on that account not given the Gauḍa pronunciation its dues. (2) The Gauḍas of Benares have for a long time been under the influence of these Maharashṭras and their own pronunciation to-day is a very mixed one. (3) Sanskrit was never the spoken language of the people; it was the *Saṁskrita*, the literary, conventionalized form of the language of the people, first of the Indus valley, then of the Madhyadeśa, and lastly of Magadha and perhaps also of the Maratha country, before it became finally fixed in its present highly artificial form, denuded of syntax, divested of idioms, eminently suited to be the language of scholars, but unfitted to act as a means of registering the changing sounds of a living language. (4) The linguistic survey of Northern India has been conducted by gentlemen without a training in phonetics, and their enquiry has been to some extent vitiated by a belief that Sanskrit is the norm and the languages as spoken are corruptions of the *Saṁskrita bhâshâ*.

My object is not to solve these problems, but merely to prove that the Sanskrit alphabet is not devoid of perplexing difficulties, nor is Sanskrit pronunciation an invariable fixed thing as people usually suppose. To one who knows the facts of the case and is not blinded by prejudice, it is as full of difficulties, as full of variations, as any other language.

SANTIDEVA.

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SASTRI, M.A., C.I.E.; CALCUTTA.

ŚÂNTIDEVA is a great name in the later Mahâyâna literature. He is credited with the authorship of three works: (1) Bodhicharyâvatâra, (2) Śikshâ-Samuchchaya and (3) Sûtra-Samuchchaya (*See Śikshâ-samuchchaya* of Bendall, Introduction, page IV., on the authority of Târânâtha). *Sûtra-Samuchchaya* has not yet been found. But there is ample evidence that this was also written by Śântideva, as will be found in the sequel.

Bodhicharyâvatâra has been several times published and even translated into English. It was first published by Professor Minaef in the eighties. Then it was published in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* by me. I had the advantage of collating a beautiful palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the Hodgeson Collection; in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1893 I acquired a copy of the *Pañjikâ* commentary of the work by Prajñâkaramati. The manuscript was copied in the year 1078 A.D. in Newârî character. The copyist's name is not given. But he describes the commentator Prajñâkaramati as his *tâtapâda*, from which it may be inferred that he was a disciple of the monk Prajñâkaramati who was a well-known scholar of the Vikramaśilâ-vihâra (See M. M. Satîś Chandra Vidyâbhushaṇa's *Indian Logic, Mediæval School*, page 151) and flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Another

manuscript in Maithilî character of the commentary running over the *Prajñâpâramitâ* chapter only was also acquired at the same time. Professor De la Vallée Poussin has very nearly completed an edition of the text and the commentary in the *Bibleotheca Indica Series.* The commentary is a store-house of information about the later Mahâyâna School.

The *Śikshâ-samuchchaya* was edited in the *Bibleotheca Buddhica Series* of St. Petersburg by the late lamented Professor Bendall of Cambridge in 1902. He has enriched his edition with the meanings of the rare Buddhist words in English in the form of an index, and in the introduction he discusses the age of the work and the genesis of the passages quoted in the work. In the work Śântideva rarely speaks himself, but quotes from a very large number of authoritative works. His *Bodhicharyâvatâra* is written in beautiful Sanskrit, very rarely tinged with Buddhistic licenses. The versification throughout is exceedingly musical. Śântideva wrote at a time when Chinese scholars ceased to come to India. So it was at first thought that his works were not translated into Chinese. But my friend Professor Ohmiya of Tokio writes to me that he has discovered in Nanjio's catalogue of the *Tripiṭakas*, a work which appears to be a different version of the *Bodhicharyâvatâra.*

Recently three palm-leaves were acquired by me, being No. 9990 of the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which gives a legendary account of Śântideva's life. The leaves were written in the 14th century Newârî hand at Katmandu. It represents Śântideva to have been the son of a Râjâ. But unfortunately the name of the capital of the Râjâ has been so completely effaced that with all my efforts I could not make out anything of it. The name of his father is Mañjuvarmâ. (Târânâtha says that Śântideva was the son of a Râjâ of Surâshṭra. See Introduction of *Śikshâ-samuchchaya* of Bendall, page 3. But Târânâtha was later than these leaves, on which my paper is based). At the time of his installation as *Yuvarâjâ*, his mother pointed out to him that kingship led only to sin. "You better go," said his mother, "where Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are to be found. If you go to the place of Mañjuvajra, you will prosper spiritually". He rode on a green horse and left his father's country. He was so intent on his journey that he forgot to eat and drink for several days. In the thick of the forest a handsome girl caught hold of his horse and made him descend from it. She gave him good water to drink, and roasted goat-meat to eat. She introduced herself as a disciple of Mañju-vajra-samâdhi. This pleased Śântideva greatly. For his mission was to become a disciple of the same *Guru*. He stopped with the *Guru* for 12 years, and obtained the knowledge of Mañjuśrî. After the completion of his education the *Guru* ordered him to go to Madhyadeśa. And there he became a raut, *viz.*, a military officer assuming the name of Achalasena. He had a sword made of *devadâru* wood, and he soon became a favourite with the king, so much so that other officers grew jealous of him. They represented to the king that this man had a sword made of *devadâru* wood. How could he then serve his master as a soldier in times of war? The king wanted to inspect the swords of all his officers. Achalasena represented that his sword should not be seen. But the king insisted, and he agreed to show his sword to the king in private after covering one of his eyes. As soon as the king saw the sword his eye fell on the ground. The king was surprised and pleased. But Achalasena threw his sword on a stone, went to Nâlandâ, changed his dress and renounced the world. There he got the name of Śântideva on account of his calmness. He heard the three *Piṭakas*, and practised meditation. He got another name too, Bhusuku, because

भुञ्जानोपि प्रभास्वरः सुप्तोपि, कुटीं ततोपि तद्देवेति भुसुकुसमाधिसमापन्नत्वात् भुसुकुनामख्यातिं सङ्घेऽपि ।

Sometime after the young folk of Nâlandâ became curious to test his knowledge. It was the custom at Nâlandâ to hold recitations every year in the month of *Jyaishṭha* in waxing moon.

They pressed upon him to give a recitation. There was an extensive *Dharmaśâlâ* to the North-east of the great *Vihâra* at Nâlandâ. In that *Dharmaśâlâ* all the paṇḍits were assembled and Śântideva was raised to the *siṁhâsana.* He at once asked

किमार्षं पठामि अर्थार्षं वा तत्र ऋषिः परमार्थज्ञानवान् ऋधुगतौ–इत्यत्र औणादिकः किः ऋषिणा जिनेन प्रोक्तं आर्षं। ननु प्रज्ञापारमितादौ सुभूत्यादिदेशितं कथमार्षं इत्यत्रोच्यते युवराजार्य्यमैत्रेयेण

यदर्थवद्धर्म्मपदोपसंहितं त्रिधातुसंक्लेशनिवर्हणं वचः।
भवे भवेच्छान्त्यनुशंस दर्शकं तद्वत् क्रमार्षं विपरीतमन्यथा ॥
तदाकृष्टं आर्य्याद्यैरर्थार्षं सुभुत्यादिदेशना तु भगवदधिष्ठानादित्यदोषः।

The paṇḍits became curious, and asked him to recite a work that may be *Arthâisha.* He resolved in his mind which of the three works, *Sûtra-samuchchaya*, *Śikshâ-samuchchaya* and *Bodhicharyâvatâra*, to recite. And he gave preference to the *Bodhicharyâvatâra*, and began to read:

सुगतान् ससुतान् सधर्म्मकायान् प्रणिपत्यादरतोऽखिलांश्च वन्द्यान्। सुगतात्मजसंवरावतारं कथयिष्यामि यथागमं समासात्॥

But when he came to recite the verse—

यदा न भावो नाभावो मतेः सन्तिष्ठते पुरः।
तदान्यगत्यभावेन निरालम्बः प्रशाम्यति ॥

the Lord appeared before him and took him to Heaven. The paṇḍits were surprised, searched his *Paḍhu-kuṭî*, viz., a student's cottage, a thatched room 17′ by 18′ and there they found the three works *Sûtra-samuchchaya* and others, which they published to the world.

This is the legendary account of Śântideva's life given in those three palm-leaves. From this we come to know that Śântideva was a monk at Nâlandâ, that he had a *kuṭî* there, that he was called Bhusuku, and that he was the author of the three works mentioned above.

Reading through *Śikshâ-samuchchaya* and *Bodhicharyâ*, we find that he was a Mahâyânist of the Mâdhyamika School. Professor Bendall thinks that Śântideva's Sanskrit works are not altogether free from *Tântrika* Buddhism. But from the *Catalogue Da Fonds Tibetain* by P. Cordier, *Deuxieme Partie*, page 140, we learn that Śântideva is the author of a *Tântrika* Buddhist work entitled श्रीगुह्यसमाजमहायोगतन्त्रबलिविधि: From a palm-leaf manuscript of चर्य्याचर्य्यविनिश्चयः: in the Durbar Library of Nepal, we learn that to Bhusuku are attributed several works of the *Vajrayâna* schools, *viz.*, the school of the secret and mystic worship of the later Buddhists. I have discovered several songs on the same subject in Bengali attributed to Bhusuku. One of the songs declares him distinctly to have been a Bengali.

48 रागमल्लारी— भुसुकुपादानां

वाजनाव पाडी पऊँआ खालें वाहिउ।
अदय वङ्गाले क्लेश लुडिउ ॥ ध्रु ॥
आजि भुसुकु वङ्गाली भइलि—
निअघरिणी चण्डाली लेलि ॥ ध्रु ॥

प्रज्ञापारमिताम्भोधिपरिमथनातमृतपरितोषितसिद्धाचार्य्यभुसुकुपादो वङ्गालिकाव्याजेन तमेवार्थं प्रतिपादयति। प्रज्ञारविन्दकुहरहृदे सद्गुरुचरणोपायेन प्रवेशितं तत्रानन्दादिशब्दोहीत्यादि अक्षरसुखाद्वयवङ्गालिनवाहित इति अभिन्नत्वं कृतं।

Though the name of his father's capital could not be read in the palm-leaves, it seems that the city was in Bengal. Sântideva rode into the jungles of Terai where *Mañjuvajra-samâdhi*, his *Guru*, had a *tapovana* similar to that of Divâkara in *Harshacharita.* The *Guru* asked him to go to Madhyadeśa in which term Hieuen Sthang included Magadha and which the Nepaleese still use in the corrupted form, Madhesa, in the same sense. Bengal is beyond Madhyadeśa. So Mañjuvajra would be justified in asking a Bengali to go to Madhyadeśa.

As to the age of Sântideva, written as Jayadeva, by mistake, on page 106 of Cambridge *Catalogue* of Professor Bendall, while treating of *Sikshâ-samuchchaya*, it is stated that the work was compiled by Jayadeva in or about the 7th century A. D. But he reconsiders his position in his introduction to the *Sikshâ-samuchchaya*, and puts him down between the death of *Srîharsha*, in 648 and the translation of the work under the celebrated Tibetan king *Khri-lde-sron-btsan*, who reigned 816-838 A. D. If so, the Bengali songs attributed to Bhusuku would be as old as the 7th century though the songs belong to the Sahajiâ School of Buddhism, which seems to have branched out from Vajrayâna or may be identical with it.

It may not be out of place to mention here how unhistorical Indian paṇḍitas became in the middle ages. In the Durbar Library, Nepal, there is a manuscript entitled *Bodhicharyavatarânuśaṅsa*, which is nothing else than the *Bodhicharyâ* itself with a few verses added at the beginning and at the end. The prologue and the epilogue make the *Bodhicharyâvatâra* a dialogue between Aśoka and his *Guru* Upagupta.

It may be argued that Sântideva, the author of *Mahâyâna* works, and Sântideva, the composer of Sahajiâ songs, under the name of Bhusuku may not be one and the same person. But this doubt is set at rest by the signature of one of the songs attributed to Bhusuku. The signature runs :

राउत भणइ कट भुसुकुभणइकट सञ्चलाञ्चइससहाव ।
जइतोमूढ़ाञ्चइसी भान्ति पुच्छतु सद्गुरुपाव ॥

In this signature Bhusuku calls himself a *rautâ*, and we know from the palm-leaves that Sântideva served as a *râuta* in Magadha.

I have a mind to say more on the subject when I publish the old Bengali songs on Buddhism. Wassiljew, following Târânâtha, thinks that there were Buddhist works in an *Apabhraṅsa* language. In our joint expedition to Nepal in 1898-99 Professor Bendall and myself got a work entitled *Subhâshita-saṁgraha*. Professor Bendall has published the book. It contains some quotations in that *Apabhraṅsa* language. But in my last journey to Nepal in 1907 I found several works in that language which after a careful study I am inclined to call old Bengali. It is undoubtedly the language spoken in Eastern India in 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, in which these books were composed.

MISCELLANEA.

A POEM BY BHÂSA.

PANDIT T. Gaṇapati Sâstrî of Travancore has laid all lovers of Sanskrit literature under a deep debt of gratitude by his discovery of twelve or rather thirteen of the dramas of the almost forgotten poet Bhâsa, who is known to have preceded Kâlidâsa. Three of these he has edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

I beg to draw the attention of scholars to a *kâvya* or epic poem by the same poet. It is referred to in the *Prithvîrâja-vijaya mahâkâvya*, also called *Prithvî-mahendra-vijaya*. I quote from a manuscript in the possession of P. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, copied from the one in the Deccan College Library.

Text.

स्वका [सत्का] व्यसंहारविधौ खलानां दीप्ता [प्ता] नि बह्नेरपि मानसानि ।
भासस्य काव्यं खलु विष्णुधर्मात्सो [न्त्सो] प्यानना-त्पारतवन्मुमोच ॥

Commentary.

सतां काव्यं तद्विषये संहारविधौ दाहे दोषारोपणेऽग्नेरपि सकाशाद्दुर्जनानां चित्तानि दीप्तान्यजडानि भवन्ति अत्र साधनमाह सोऽग्निरपि भासमुनेः काव्यं विष्णुधर्मान्मुखात्त्यक्तवान् नादहदित्यर्थः अत एव पारतवादित्युपमा अग्निर्हि वस्त्वन्तरवत्पारतं दग्धुमशक्तो मुखान्मुञ्चति भासव्यासयोः काव्यविषयेस्पर्धां कुर्वतोस्सर्वोत्कर्षवर्तित्वेन परीक्षकान्तराभावात् परीक्षार्थमग्निमध्ये तयोर्द्वयोः काव्यद्वयं क्षिप्तम् तयोर्मध्यादग्निर्विष्णुधर्मान्नादहदिति प्रसिद्धिः खलैस्तु प्राप्तं सत्काव्यं दह्यते इत्यग्नेस्सकाशात्खलानां दाहकत्वमित्यर्थः ।.

[Leaf 1 (number 3), page 2, lines 4-11].

From this we learn that *Vishṇudharma* (plural) was a *kâvya* of Bhâsa and it was put in the fire for being tested. The commentator, Jonarâja (son of Bhaṭṭa Nonarâja, son of Lolarâja) who commented on the *Kirâtârjunîya* and *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita* also, calls Bhâsa a *muni*, and says that he and Vyâsa were rivals and one work of each was thrown into the fire, which, as a referee, did not consume the excellent work of Bhâsa named *Vishṇudharma*. It is not said whether the work of Vyâsa escaped unhurt. The submission of the works of Bhâsa to the ordeal by fire is alluded to by Râjaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's *Sûktimuktâvali* in the verse—

भासनाटकचक्रेपि च्छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभून्न पावकः ॥

where *chhekaiḥ*[1] should be taken to mean *vidagdhaiḥ*(=critics), and where the surviving work of outstanding merit is said to be *Svapna-Vâsavadatta*, and not *Vishṇudharma*. The epithet *jalanamitte* (*jvalana-mitra*=friend of fire) applied to Bhâsa in *Gauḍavaho* (v. 800) refers, I think, to this episode in the poet's life rather than to 'an incident in the play' (of *Svapna-Vâsavadatta*,) as is said by M. Sylvain Lévi. Testing the qualities of a drama or a poem by its combustibility or otherwise is indeed quaint. In his *Prabandhakosha*, Râjaśekhara-sûri alludes to the custom of authors taking their new books to Kashmîr where the works were examined by Paṇḍits and placed in the hands of Bhâratî or Sarasvatî, who sat on a throne. If the work was of merit, the goddess nodded in approval and flowers were showered upon the poet; if not, it was thrown to the ground.

Thus there was a tradition in the 12th century of a *kâvya* named *Vishṇudharma* (plural) of great excellence by Bhâsa. The fact that Bhâsa is called *muni* and a rival of Vyâsa, and the possibility that *Vishṇudharmottara*, one of the *Purâṇas* going under the authorship of Vyâsa, looks like the name-sake and counterpart of the lost *Vishṇudharma* by Bhâsa, would, no doubt, be very gratifying to Paṇḍit Gaṇapati Śâstrî, who, carried away by the enthusiasm of his discovery, the importance of which be it far from me to underrate, makes Bhâsa anterior to Kauṭilya Châṇakya and Pâṇini. I shall discuss his case for this assumption in another note. But those who are not prepared to accept Vyâsa and Bhâsa as contemporaries, would admit that, in the 12th century and thereafter, tradition remembered them as rivals of almost equal eminence and remembered a *kâvya* by the latter named *Vishṇudharma*.

CHANDRADHAR GULERI.

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[There are two works of the name of *Vishṇudharma* or *Vishṇudharmottara*, of which one, according to Bühler, is as old as A. D. 500 (*ante*, Vol. XIX., p. 408). Both professing to be *Purâṇas*, one was naturally attributed to Vyâsa, who is supposed to be the auther of all *Purâṇas*. As it is inconceivable that one author can compose two different works bearing one and the same name, the other *Vishṇudharma* appears to have been hoisted upon Bhâsa. A rivalry was accordingly imagined to have sprung up between him and Vyâsa, and the tradition about the ordeal of fire which originally pertained to *Svapnavâsavadatta* was transferred to *Vishṇudharma*.—D. R. B.]

ŚANKARÂCHÂRYA AND BALAVARMÂ

IN a note on page 200 of this Journal for 1912, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has made an attempt to fix more accurately the date of Śaṅkarâchârya. His attempt is based on the occurrence of the name Balavarmâ in Sankarâchârya's commentary on the *Vedântasûtras*, once under *Sûtra* IV. 3, 5 and once under *Sûtra* II. 4, 1. A Châlukya chief of the name of Balavarmâ is mentioned in the Kaḍaba plates[1] of A. D. 812 as the grandfather of Vimalâditya, who was the governor of the Kunungil district when the plates were issued. The period of this Balavarmâ would thus be, roughly, the last quarter of the 8th century. Hitherto this was the only inscription in which the name Balavarmâ was found to occur. But I have recently discovered three *vîragals* in Hiriguṇḍagal and Sankênhalli, Tumkur Taluk, which tell us that Balavemmarasa waged a war against the Gaṅgas during the rule of the Gaṅga king Śivamâra.[2] As the period of the latter is also about the close of the 8th century, there cannot be much doubt about the identity of the Balavemmarasa of the *vîragals* with the Balavarmâ of the Kaḍaba plates. Balavarmâ's name also occurs in Maddagiri 93 and Tiptur 10, both of which[3], though undated, probably belong to the close of the 8th century. As all the above inscriptions are found in the Tumkur district, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Kunuṅgil or Kuṇuṅgil of the Kaḍaba plates with the modern Kuṇigal of the

[1] *Chheka* is a Pâli word meaning skilful, expert, *vide* Childers' Dictionary *sub voce*.—D. R. B.

[1] *Epi. Car.*, XII., Gubbi, 61; *Epi. Ind.*, IV., 332.

[2] See *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1910, para. 53.

[3] *Epi. Car.*, XII.

same district. The Tamil inscriptions[4] of the Chola and Hoysala periods in Kuṇigal Taluk, which invariably give the name as Kuṇuṅgil, also support the above identification. Consequently the identification of Kuṇigal with the Koṇikal-vishaya of the Hosûr grant of Ambêrâ[5] is no longer tenable. After the overthrow of the Chalukya power, Balavarmâ may have become a feudatory of the Râshṭrakûṭas and fought on their behalf against the Gaṅgas. Several *vîragals* newly discovered in Tumkur Taluk refer to the wars between the Gaṅga kings Śripurusha and Śivamâra and the Râshṭrakûṭas,[6] one of them giving us the important information that Śivamâra fell fighting in a battle at Kâgimogeyûr against Vallaha, *i.e.*, the Râshṭrakûṭa king (Govinda III).

There can thus be no doubt about the existence of a prince of the name of Balavarmâ at the close of the 8th century. And his period being about the same as that generally assigned to Śankarâchârya, the attempt on the part of scholars to identify him with the one alluded to by the latter in his commentary can by no means be pronounced unreasonable. On reading my *Archæological Report* for 1910, Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Haraprasada Sastri, M.A., in a kind letter dated the 1st of May 1911, wrote to me thus:—"The date of Śankarâchârya has not yet been proved by any positive fact. In your *Report* you speak of a Balavarmâ in about A. D. 812, *i. e.*, about the time when Śankarâchârya flourished; and he mentions in his *Bhâshya* IV., 3, 4 of Balavarmâ as being near to him. May not this be a positive proof of Śankarâchârya's date?" And in the note under reference Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has likewise based his conclusions on the same identification. It is possible that the identification is correct. There are, however, a few other circumstances which cannot well be ignored in this connection. Balavarmâ is not the only prince mentioned by Śankarâchârya. He mentions several others, *e.g.*, under *Sûtra* IV., 3, 5 Jayasiṁha and Kṛishṇagupta along with Balavarmâ; under *Sûtra* II., 1, 17 Pûrṇavarmâ. In case Balavarmâ is taken to be his contemporary, it stands to reason that the others also should be treated as such. It is not reasonable to single out one of the names to base our arguments on and completely ignore the others. Identifying the Pûrṇavarmâ of Śankarâchârya with the Western Magadha king of the same name, the late Mr. Telang came to the conclusion that Śankarâchârya flourished at about A. D. 600.[7] With regard to the other kings mentioned above, we know of a Kṛishṇagupta, the first king of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha, who ruled at about A. D. 500; of a Jayasiṁha of the Chalukya dynasty whose period is also about A. D. 500; and of another Jayasiṁha (Jayasiṁha II) among the Eastern Chalukyas, whose date is about A. D. 700. There is nothing to prevent us from identifying the kings alluded to in Śankarâchârya's commentary with those mentioned above. But none of them was his contemporary, if the date generally assigned to him is to be accepted. In these circumstances one may well be excused if one holds the opinion that the identification in the case of Balavarmâ is as much open to question as in the case of the others and that the synchronism based on it is purely accidental. It looks as if one out of several names had been purposely seized upon to the exclusion of the others in order to secure support for a favourite theory. When epigraphical or other evidence becomes available to prove the contemporaneity of the kings referred to with Śankarâchârya, the argument from the synchronism of Balavarmâ will be perfectly legitimate. Till then the names have perhaps to be looked upon as connoting imaginary persons like the words Dêvadatta and Yajñadatta or the letters A, B and C.

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[I have no doubt that my identification of Śankarâchârya's Balavarman is correct. For, as shown by me, his grandson Vimalâditya can alone answer to the description of the contemporary prince given by Śankarâchârya's pupil's pupil, Prajñâtâtman. This receives additional confirmation from the fact that it agrees with the date of the philosopher arrived at by Prof. Pathak on irrefragible evidence. It is true that Śankarâchârya speaks of other kings also, *e. g.*, Jayasiṁha and Kṛishṇagupta. But their names can have no weight so long as synchronisms of their sons or grandsons with the philosopher's pupils or pupil's pupils are not established.—D. R. B.]

[4] *Ibid.* Kuṇigal 2, 14 and 16.

[5] *Epi. Ind.* IV, 337

[6] *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1910, paras. 46 and 51-54.

[7] *Ante*, XIII 95

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE MAHÂVAṀSA OR THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON. Translated into English by WILHELM GEIGER, Ph.D., Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology at Erlangen University, assisted by MABEL HAYNES BODE, Ph.D., Lecturer on Pâli at University College, London. Demy 8vo: pp. lxiv, 300; with a map of Ancient Ceylon. Published for the Pâli Text Society by Henry Frowde; London: 1912.

[*Reprinted, by permission, from the J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 1110 ff.*]

Professor Geiger gave us in 1908 his critical edition of the text of the Original Mahâvaṁsa; that is, of chapters 1 to 36 and verses 1 to 50 of chapter 37 of the whole work, being that portion which was written to rearrange, expand, and explain the Dîpavaṁsa (see p. 11 of the introduction to the translation). He has now followed that up by his translation of the text, published in English through the co-operation of Mrs. Bode: Professor Geiger made his translation in German; Mrs. Bode turned his translation into English; and the English rendering was then revised by Professor Geiger: we may congratulate both collaborators on the result. As is well known, the text of the Dîpavaṁsa, with an English translation, was given by Professor Oldenberg in 1879. We are now at last provided with reliable and easy means of studying both the great Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles.

[1111] Professor Geiger's translation is preceded by an introduction of 63 pages, in eleven sections, in which he has discussed a variety of important points.

In the first place, he has briefly recapitulated the demonstration given in his *Dîpavaṃsa and Mahâvaṃsa* (1905) that the two chronicles were based on an older work, known as the Aṭṭhakathâ-Mahâvaṁsa, which must have come down originally to only the arrival of Mahêndra in Ceylon (in the time of Aśôka), but was afterwards continued to the reign of Mahâsêna first half of the fourth century A.D).

In the second place, Professor Geiger, defending the two chronicles against what he has justly described (p. 14) as "undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism," has shown that they are to be accepted safely as reliable historical records, with a framework of well-established dates. We have, indeed, to clear away from them a certain amount of miraculous matter. But they do not stand alone among ancient histories in presenting such matter. And when we have made the necessary elimination, which is not difficult, there remains, easily recognizable, a residue of matter-of-fact statements, in respect of which the chronicles have already been found to be supported by external evidence to such an extent that we need not hesitate about accepting others of their assertions, which, though perhaps we cannot as yet confirm them in the same way, present nothing which is at all startling and naturally incredible.

In dealing with the chronology, Professor Geiger has accepted B.C. 483 as "the probable year" of the death of Buddha (p. 24). That particular year is undoubtedly the best result that we have attained, and that we are likely to attain unless we can make some new discovery giving us the absolute certainty which we do not possess. For a brief statement of the manner in which it is fixed, see p. 239 above: Professor Geiger has added observations of [1112] his own (pp. 26, 28-30), based on something pointed out by Mr. Wickremasinghe, endorsing it. As regards one item in the process by which it is fixed, the interval of 218 years from the death of Buddha to the anointment of Aśôka "is supported," as Professor Geiger has said (p. 25), "by the best testimony and has nothing in it to call for suspicion." As regards another item, we need not hesitate about accepting 28 years according to the two Ceylonese chronicles, against the 25 years of the Purâṇas, as the true length (in round numbers) of the reign of Bindusâra. This last consideration, we may add, entails placing the anointment of Aśôka in B.C. 265 or 264 (p. 27): if that should still remain unwelcome to anyone who, taking one item from one source and the other from another source, would place both the death and the anointment four or five years earlier, — well; it can be shown on some other occasion that there is nothing opposed to B.C. 265 or 264, for the anointment of Aśôka, in the mention of certain foreign kings in the thirteenth rock-edict So, also, though the matter does not affect that point we may safely follow the 37 years of the two chronicles, against the 36 years of the Purâṇas, as the length (in round numbers) of the reign of Aśôka.

Professor Geiger hesitates (p. 28) to accept the "bold and seducive combination" by which I explain the mention of 256 nights in the record of Aśôka at Sahasrâm, Rûpnâth, Brahmagiri, and other places. In what way, then is it to be explained? As regards the other two explanations which have been advanced, there is nothing in the calendar to account for the selection of that particular number of nights or days; and a tour of such a length by Aśôka, while reigning,—whether made by him actually as king or in the character of a wandering mendicant monk,— is out of the question. On the other hand, my explanation,— that the 256 nights mark 256 years elapsed since the death of Buddha,— is suggested exactly by the [1113] number of years established by the Dîpavaṁsa and the Mahâvaṁsa from that event to the end of Aśôka's reign, and by the well-established practice of ancient Indian kings, of abdicating in order to pass into religious retirement: see this Journal, 1911. 1091 ff. My explanation may be set aside: but it has not been shown to be open to adverse criticism as the others are.

In respect of the later Buddhist reckoning, the erroneous one, now current, which would place the death of Buddha in B.C. 544, Professor Geiger, putting Mr. Wickremasinghe's remarks in a clearer light, has shown (p. 29) that it existed in Ceylon in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. This carries it back there to more than a century before the time at which I arrived in this Journal, 1909. 333.

In § 8 of the introduction, Professor Geiger has given (p. 36) a tabulated list of the ancient kings of Ceylon, down to Mahâsêna, on the lines of the list given by me in this Journal, 1909. 350, but with some improvements. His table has the advantage of giving the references by chapter and verse to his text of the Mahâvaṁsa; a detail which, for reasons stated at the time, I was not able to fill in. It increases the total period according to the Mahâvaṁsa by 1 year, 4 months, 15 days, by alterations under Nos. 10 and 11 (plus 2 years) and No. 17 (minus 7 months, 15 days): these are due to improved readings. And it includes two additional columns, which give the chronology in terms of the Buddhist era of B.C. 483 and of the Christian reckonings B.C. and A.D.

As regards a remark on p. 39—40, there is no need to accept the assumption that Samudragupta began to reign in A.D. 326: a more reasonable date is A.D. 335 or 340: see this Journal, 1909. 342.

The last section of the introduction (pp. 51-63) deals with the first, second, and third Buddhist Councils, all of which are shown to be historical events, and clears away the confusion in the Indian tradition between two [1114] distinct persons, Kâlâśôka and Dharmâśôka, son of Bindusâra,—the Aśôka who issued the edicts.[1]

Appendix D gives a list of Pâli terms used in the translation without being turned into English. Under No. 34 there is quoted a statement that, according to the details given in a table of the end of the twelfth century, the *yôjana* works out, for Ceylon, to between 12 and 12½ miles, but that in actual practice it must have been reckoned at from 7 to 8 miles. This latter value, however, is quite an imaginary one: see this Journal, 1907. 655. And as regards early times there is no reason for discriminating between India and Ceylon in this matter; and for India we have (1) the vague day's-march *yôjana*, averaging 12 miles, but liable to vary according to the circumstances of the particular march, and, in the way of *yôjanas* of fixed unvarying lengths, (2) the long *yôjana* of 32,000 *hasta*=9 miles, and (3) the short *yôjana* of 16,000 *hasta*=4½ miles; the last being specially favoured by the Buddhists: see p. 236 above, and this Journal, 1906. 1011.

Limitation of space prevents any further remarks. I conclude by expressing the hope that some Pâli scholar will give us shortly the technical review of Professor Geiger's translation which it merits.

J. F. FLEET.

[1] There is an accidental slip on p 60, last line but one, where Dharmâśôka is spoken of as the son of Chandragupta: read 'grandson.'

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

Continued from p. 132.

APPENDIX II.

Notes made on the spot by Mr. W. W. Skeat.

I East Coast.

1. *Kelantan.* 15 *pitis* or *kĕping*=1 *kĕndĕri*: 60 *pitis* or 4 *kĕndĕri*=1 *kupang*[19] 480 *pitis*=8 *kupangs* =1 dollar.

2. *Singora.* At Singora (April 21, 1899). I obtained three of the small cowries formerly used here as coins. Phya Sukum, the Siamese Commissioner for the Ligor group of States, told me that the number of them which went to one *pitis* (cash) varied a good deal according to locality,[20] but in this district he thinks it was 100.

3. *Singora and Patalung* (shores of the Inland Sea, East Coast). At Singora (April 16, 1899), the Siamese Governor of Patalung sent me by request 28 of the old cash formerly in use there. They were round coins of tin, or perhaps spelter, with a round hole in the centre, a little larger than the ordinary Singapore cent, and appeared to bear trilingral inscriptions—in Siamese, " Patalung " on one side; in Malay " Nĕgĕri Singgora " and a Chinese inscription on the other. Some of them were also struck with the letters E. B. L., which the Governor believed to be the *chop* (Hind. *chhâp*, shop-stamp) of the Chinaman who struck them, and who was, he said, well known in Singapore. Four hundred of these cash, he said, went to the dollar, but they were never current beyond local limits.

4. *Patani, East Coast.* Chinese gaming counters with Chinese inscription on one side only, but otherwise resembling cash, were obtained from Jala, a province of Patani. No special local cash were obtainable either from Jala, Nawng Chik or Raman provinces, but were so from the provinces of Ligeh, Teluban, Patani and Jering,[21] which were perhaps rather more Malayan in custom at the time.

5. *Patani.* Siamese money was not in general use here, perhaps, but was understood in the ports of the Siamese-Malay States: *e. g.*, in Patani Town.

2	solat (lot)	make	1	at
2	at	"	1	phai
4	phai	"	1	füang
2	füang	"	1	salüng
4	salüng	"	1	bat[22]
4	bat	"	1	tamlüng
20	tamlüng	"	1	chang (kati)[23]

6. *Patani.* Minted coinage. All Patani *pitis* (cash) were formerly coined in the precincts of the *istana* (palace) up to about two years ago (writing in 1899-1900). All the *pitis* were called in at the death of the late Raja, the new Raja issuing new coins, according to the usual custom.

[19] Here the *kupang* = the *tali*.

[20] See *ante*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 290 ff. Cowries are nowadays grated and used medicinally.

[21] Patani was divided into seven provinces. Cash were not obtainable in Kedah, West Coast, but were so in Kelantan and Tringganu, East Coast.

[22] *kop* = 1 *tikal*.

[23] For an explanation of Siamese money, see *ante*, Vol. XXVII pp. 1 ff.

7. *Patani.* On my visiting the office of the Customs clerk, a Patani-born Hokien (Chinese), in company with Luang Phrom, the clerk produced two of the old cash-trees, which had been cast before the making of cash had been prohibited by the Siamese Government, and also some cash of Jering.

8. *Patani: Jering.* Present coinage.

20 pitis	or kĕping	make	1	kĕndĕri
80 pitis	or 4 kĕndĕri	„	1	kupang
640 pitis	or 8 kupang[24]	„	1	dollar

In the last reign the coinage was as follows :—

15 pitis	or kĕping	make	1	kĕndĕri
60 pitis	or 4 kĕndĕri	„	1	kupang
480 pitis	or 8 kupang[24]	„	1	dollar

The alteration was due to a change in the price of tin. The tin cash-trees may have from 10 to 12 or 15 coins on them.

9. *Patani-Jering.* I bought at Jering some gold *dinar*, there called *mas kupang* (gold *kupang*), which were brought round by an old Haji. He said that they had been dug up in a bottle at Bukit Kuwong about 18 to 20 years ago (writing in 1899) by a Siamese, and that as they were considered treasure trove, half of them had gone as usual to the Raja and half to the finder. Traditionally they are supposed to have been struck by Raja Merkah after his conversion to Islam. Another kind, struck on one side only, is said to have been minted by his wife after his decease. The traditional diameter of coins of this kind is alleged to be that of blossoms of the *tanjong* tree, but the two I bought were a little smaller. One of them had a rude figure of a bull on it, and the other that of a horse and both had Arabic inscriptions. One of them had had a small eyelet-hole added to the edge of the coin, which was intended (I was told) to enable it to be worn round a child's neck to benefit the child's eyes.

10. *Patani-Jering.* The new British dollar is called here *perak toka'* (*tongkat*, or the "staff silver" piece), on account of the trident borne by the figure of Britannia. The *perak naga* or "dragon-silver" piece (Chinese Canton dollar) is now charged here at a discount of from one to two *kĕndĕri* (*saga kĕndĕri*, candareen).

11. *Patani-Jering.* At Penarik, Singapore cents were by no means well or generally understood, but nevertheless they were accepted, though I had to get help in explaining what they were.

12. *Patani-Teluban.* Coinage.

12 pitis		make	1	kĕndĕri
48 pitis	or 4 kĕndĕri	„	1	kupang (sa-tali)[25]
320 pitis[26]	or 8 kupang	„	1	dollar

Formerly the coinage was as follows :—

10 pitis		make	1	kĕndĕri
40 pitis	or 4 kĕndĕri	„	1	kupang
320 pitis	or 8 kupang	„	1	dollar

The statement that 320 cash instead of 384 went to the dollar in Teluban may have been due to the old associations of the time when 10 *pitis* went to the *kĕndĕri*. It cannot point merely to an appreciation of the *pitis*, as that would have evenly affected the scale throughout.

13. *Patani-Ligeh.* At Tanjong-'mas we found that the *pitis* of Teluban were current there as well as the *pitis* of Ligeh. These last bore inscriptions :—(1) *chaping* (*kĕping*) *Al*

[24] Here the *kupang* = the *tali*.

[25] Showing the *kupang* to equal the *tali*.

[26] But should be 384.

Shamsu wal Kamar fi Rabi'-al-awwal, 1313 [*A. D.* 1893]. *(2) Langkat (Ligeh) khalik min zalik menjadi dĕripada ini negeri.*

The *pitis* of both districts were however of equal value, which perhaps made things easier. The scale of currency was as follows :—

10	pitis				make	1	kĕndĕri
40	pitis	or	4	kĕndĕri	,,	1	kupang
320	pitis	or	8	kupang	,,	1	dollar

14. *Patani-Ligeh.* The small currency at Tomoh consisted, I was told, of gold dust, and this is quite intelligible, as gold washing is the staple industry of the place. I asked the Chinese headman to give me 5 dollars' worth of this small change in gold; but his Chinese instincts were too strong for him, and I could afterwards only get 3 dollars for what he was pleased to call 5 dollars' worth of change.[27]

15. *Patani-Ligeh.* Gold-dust is said to be used as small change both at Mombang and at Rekoh, though the people at the *pĕnghulu's* house declared they had none of it.

16. *Patani*: descriptions of Patani cash.

(*a*) Teluban. Inscription in Arabic[28] :—*atazi tazani fi billah bisawaf. tubin* (*i.e.*, Teluban) *sanat* 1308 (A. D. 1891).

(*b*) Jambu (Jering) : Inscription in Arabic : *al kadir biladi saharni hazar il wanna. Yambu* (*i. e.*, Jambu), *1312* (A. D. 1895).

(*c*) Patani.

(i) Inscription in Arabic : *almanshiri wan fi biladil. Fatani* (*i. e.*, Patani), *sanat 1309*. (A. D. 1892).

(ii) Inscription in Malay :—*ini pitis bĕlanja didalam nĕgĕri Patani* : this cash is coin within the country of Patani. It is said that in Jala no *pitis* are coined.

(*d*) A Singora coin. Has a Malay inscription on one side and Chinese on the other.

17. *Kelantan.* Old and present Kelantan *pitis* (cash) are said to go 480 to the dollar. They bear inscriptions : (1) *chaping* (*kĕping*) *li amir saj'a mulkahu daulat Kelantan, 1305* (A. D. 1888):—(2) *Thuribah fi Jamad-al-awwal.*

18. *Kelantan* and *Patani.* Cash-trees were obtained in both States.

19. *Patani-Ligeh* : description of cash.

(*a*) Inscription in Arabic :—*sultan-al-adhim daulat Ligeh Khalif.*

(*b*) Inscription in Malay :—*2 hari bulan Rabi'-al-awwal*, 2nd day of the month of *Rabi'-al-awwal* ; *sanat* 1307 (A. D. 1890) : *asha ama wal rahman.*

20. *Coins obtained on the East Coast.*

(*a*) Three small cash with hole in centre, and same legend on both sides ; no mint mentioned, but probably Kelantan. Inscription : *Khalif* [atu'l-mu] *minin.*

(*b*) one Patani cash.

(*c*) one Kelantan cash.

(*d*) twenty-three large Trengganu cash, with legend : *sapuloh kepeng* 10, ten cash-piece 10 *kepeng*, on one side : *dharab fi Targanu* (Trengganu) on the other.

(*e*) two *joko*, gambling counters passing current in Trengganu with Malay legend on one side : *ini Ban Sing-punya*, this is Ban Sing's ; and in Chinese on the other.

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[27] That is he made 2 points in 5, or 40 per cent., by manipulating the currency. See *ante*, p. 17, for the West Coast mint method, and p. 26 for the Dutch E. I. Company's method in similar circumstances. It was his idea of legitimate trade profit.

[28] All Arabic readings can only be approximate on such coins.

(*d*) one Siamese coin bent (*tikal*) used by gamblers as being easy to pick up.

(*e*) one Penang coin with Malay legend:—*Pulau Pinang* on one side, and arms of the British East India Company on the other.

(*f*) three old cash, much defaced: one with Trengganu clearly written (*t-r-ng-a-nu*): the other illegible.

(*g*) four American half-dollars, which go by the name of *jampal*: the oldest 1810.

(*h*) four Java coins (guilder, half-guilder, quarter-guilder, eighth-guilder). The two latter have Malay and Javanese inscriptions:—*sa-pĕrĕmpat rupiya* (quarter rupee) and *sa-pĕrpuloh rupiya* (eighth-rupee) respectively.

21. *Pahang*. In a Malay house on the Lebih, I saw cash hung upon the strings of a *para* (hanging tray), which was suspended over the hearth, just as they are hung upon the strings of an *anchak* (tray for offerings to the spirits). Deer-hoofs were hung underneath the *para*, just as is the case with the hoofs of the goat, whenever one is sacrificed for exposure in an *anchak*. In the same way coins are fixed to the shrouds of the spirit-boat (*lanchang*). In fact it seems pretty generally understood by all the Malays in the Peninsula that the spirits will appreciate the value of cash. Pahang is part of the British protectorate. Kelantan, Patani, Trengganu and Kedah, including Setul, Perlis, Singora and Patalung are under Siamese administration.[28a]

22. *Patani*:	*Jambu* (*Jering*).		Gold weights.	
	2	saga kĕndĕri[29]	= 1	saga bĕsar
	4	saga kĕndĕri	= 1	kupang
	4	kupang	= 1	'mas (mace)
	16	'mas	= 1	tahil (tael) of 16 dollars
23. Patani:	Raman-Ligeh.		Gold weights.[30]	
	4	lada	= 1	puchok
	4	puchok	= 1	padi (saga kĕndĕri)
	4	kĕndĕri	= 1	'mas
	5	kĕndĕri	= 1	kupang
	8	kĕndĕri	= 1	rial (Sp. dollar).
	15	rial	= 1	tahil
24. Patani:	Raman-Ligeh		Silver weights.[30]	
	2	puchok	= 1	padi
	3	padi	= 1½	cents
	6	padi	= 1	kĕndĕri

II: West Coast.

25. Singapore and Malacca Currency.

4	duit (¼ cent.)	make	1	sen (cent.)
2½	sen	,,	1	wang
10	wang	,,	1	suku (quarter dollar)
4	suku	,,	1	ringgit (dollar)

26. *Perak*. *Wang baharu*[31] means the new (silver) piece valued at 2½ cents. According to Klinkert,[32] the *wang* (*uwang*) was a small piece of money = 10 *duit* = *een dubbeltje* (a Dutch

[28a] Trengganu, Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis have since been transferred to British territory.

[29] *Kĕndĕri* seeds = candareen: *saga bĕsar* = great seed. *Saga* by itself means usually the *kĕndĕri* or candareen, *i.e.*, seed of the *adenanthera pavonina*, which is double of the *abrus precatorius* seed. Here however *saga kĕndĕri* is clearly the latter and *saga bĕsar* the former.

[30] It seems possible that in these cases the informant mixed up weights with relative and absolute value.

[31] Maxwell, *Malay Manual*, p. 142.

[32] *NieuwM.-N. Woordenboek*.

silver coin worth two pence). It was also a gold-weight = ½ 'mas (mace). Klinkert no doubt refers to the *old wang*.

27. *Perak*. Maxwell's *boya* is no doubt a vulgar corruption of *buaya* (*buwaya*), *i.e.*, the "crocodile" coin, which is referred to by Klinkert, who says it was a tin coin in Selangor in the shape of a crocodile, and that the value was 20 *duits*, as formerly issued.

28. *Perak*. The recess in the design in the *tampang* or "block"-coin is called *melumba*, which may be connected with *lombong*, a "paddock" in the workings of a local tin mine, so named from its sloping side.

29. *Perak and Selangor coinage*. In Penang, Kedah, etc., the *tampang* was called *kupang*.

The copper coinage now in use in the Federated Malay States is the cent (100 to the dollar) and half-cent of the Straits coinage. Till recent years, however, copper coins from nearly all the adjacent countries were admitted, but Government has some time since taken the matter in hand, and foreign copper coinage has been largely prohibited in the Federated States. A small copper Dutch coin called *wang* is still in use at 2½ cents.

The small silver coins of the Straits currency (British) now used in the Federated States are 5, 10, 20 and 50 cents. They are called *sĕling* or *s'killing* (Dutch, *skilling*), and were preceded by small silver pieces about the size of a Straits half-cent piece, but thinner. They had a design described as a shield and crown and were evidently Dutch or Javanese. They were sometimes collectively called *wang*, *i.e.*, change, though this term more properly applied to the copper *wang*.

For the half-dollar (*jampal*), the United States coinage was sometimes employed.

The dollars in use were as follows:—

(*a*) One of the oldest dollars, used in the Federated States, was the "pillar" dollar called by the Malays the "cannon" dollar, as they mistook the pillars on it for cannon. I have met with one or two specimens in Selangor.

(*b*) The Mexican dollar with eagle and snake was largely used till quite recently, and was called the "bird" dollar (*ringgit burong*): the "snake" dollar (*ringgit ular*): and even the "butterfly" dollar (*ringgit rama-rama*).

(*c*) The "scales" dollar (*ringgit nĕracha*).

(*d*) Chinese and Japanese dollars were also in use.

(*e*) Not long ago the Government has minted a British dollar at Singapore, which has been called the "Staff" dollar (*ringgit tongkat*) from the trident carried by Britannia.

30. *Perak-Selangor*. A *tali* was always 12½ cents. The expression *sa-perak* (one silver-piece) was also formerly used for 6 cents as money of account, though there may have once been such a coin.

31. *Penang and Province Wellesley*. Swettenham, *Vocabulary*, p. 129.

10	duit (cent)	make	1	kupang
12½	duit	,,	1	tali
2	tali	,,	1	suku (quarter)
4	suku	,,	1	ringgit (dollar)

The *duit* (Dutch) is divided into halves and quarters: *satĕngah duit* and *suku duit*. Klinkert *Woordenboek*, says *s. v. tali*:—*sa-tali* = ¼ *gulden*; "*naar het koord met 75 pitis, dat vroeger daarvoor gebruikt werd.*" Here the *pitis* = cash of the Chinese variety.

32. *Kedah*: *Ulu Kedah*. At Baling I found old Straits coins, copper cents of the East India Company when it administered Penang, still current.

33. *Setul*: *N. of Kedah*. I was told at Setul that a species of cash, *keping*, was formerly current, with a quarter of a Penang or Singapore cent: 4 *keping* (cash) = 1 Dutch *duit* (cent).

34. *Negri Sembilan.* Names for currency, from report in *J. R. A. S.*, Straits Branch No. 18, pp. 356 f.

sa-wang	=	2	cents.
sa-perak	=	6	,,
sa-kupang	=	12½	,,
sa-suku	=	25	,,
s'-omeh (sa-'mas)	=	50	,,
sa-liku[33]	=	21	cents
dua-liku	=	22	,,
tiga-liku	=	23	,,
and so on to 29 cents			
sa-'ng baharu[34]	=	2½	cents
sa-tali = 5 – 'ng baharu[34a]	=	12½	,,
sa-liku-'ng baharu	=	52½	,,
dua-liku-'ng baharu	=	55	,,
duapuloh omeh	=	10	dollars
omeh duapuloh	=	7	,,
duapuloh sa-rĕpi	=	7	,,
dua-bĕlas sa-rĕpi[34b]	=	4	,,

35. *Singapore and Peninsula.* Dollars recently in use.

Name.	Average weight in grs.	Parts pure silver.	Parts alloy.
Hongkong	416	900	100
Old Mexican	416½	898	102
New Mexican	417½	898	102
Japanese	416	900	100
American Trade	420	900	100
British	416	900	100

36. *Perlis, N. of Kedah.* A certain amount of tin is exported from Perlis: 60-70 *kati*=1 *jongkong* or slab. In Selangor and Perak, the slabs are called *kĕping* or *jongkong*, and the smaller pieces *buku*. The shape of the slab was roughly that of the *tampang*, which was a clear imitation of it. This seems to be a strong link between the tin currency and the system of blocks or slabs in which the tin is actually cast.



keping or *jongkong*



tampang

[33] *Lekor* (*liku*) is the coefficient of the numerals between 20 and 30: so *satu-lekor* (*sa-liku*) is 21 and so on.

[34] *Wang baharu*, new coin: used in Malacca for a small obsolete silver coin. The phrase still means 2½ cents in accounts.

[34a] The original has *S'ng baharu*, which, as Mr. Blagden has pointed out, is a misprint for 5 *'ng baharu*.

[34b] The last three statements are not clear. *Omeh duapuloh* and *duapuloh sa-rĕpi* are evidently equivalents: *dua-bĕlas sa-rĕpi* means clearly another kind of *rĕpi* (piece). Apparently *duapuloh sa-rĕpi* means "a piece of 20" =7 dollars, and *dua-bĕlas* (*bĕlas*, coefficient of numerals between 10 and 20) *sa-rĕpi*, "a piece of 12" = 4 dollars. If this reading be correct, the proportion is not quite right, as 7: 4:: 12 produces 84: 80. If, however, the two sides of the equation are intended to tally, *mas duapuloh* would seem to mean "a gold piece of 20," whatever "20" refers to.

In Pahang the *tampang* have been turned into mere tokens (money) by hollowing them out. The shape is preserved and they fit each other like a series of hats.

According to Wilkinson, *Malay Dict.*, *jongkong* is applied to the hollowed-out tokens to distinguish them from the *tampang* or solid blocks, which were also called *raman.* It is however certainly applied in the first place to the slab of tin (*kĕping*), *vide* Klinkert. *Tampang* means a flattish square slab ; the term is also applied to the " fort " or ramparts round a Raja's palace in the sense that these are four-square. It is also used sometimes even for the Pahang *jongkong.*

37. *Perak and Selangor.* Currency table for block tin.

5	cents	make	1	buaya (crocodile)
2	buaya	,,	1	tampang (block)
5 2	tampang bidor	,,	1	'mas or jampal ($\frac{1}{2}$ dollar)
10 2	tampang 'mas	,,	1	dollar

The weight of the *tampang* is said to have been about 1 *kati* in Selangor.

The entire currency is now obsolete and very hard to get. One of the minting places of the tin-block coins was Kerayong in the K'lang, Selangor. The *tampang* there minted were stamped with a mark called *tampok manggis*, or mangosteen rosette, which it was meant or thought to resemble .

The value of tin when these coins were current may have been not more than 12-15 dollars the *pikul.* It has lately gone up to 80-90 dollars, but for a good many years it varied from 20 to 40 dollars.

Some of the small varieties of the coins were carried on a string, but not all, and it is perhaps some 40 years or more since they were in vogue.

A *duit* in Selangor was formerly called a *pese.* Four *duit* or *pese,* went to a cent.

(To be continued.)

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

Continued from Vol. XLII, p. 28.

XVI.—Sambodhi in Asoka's Rock Edict VIII.

A much discussed passage in this edict runs as follows, according to the Girnâr text :—

Atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ râjâno vihâra-yâtâṁ ñayâsu eta magayvâ aññâni cha etârisani abhiramakâni ahuṁsu so Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râiâ dasa-vas-âbhisito saṁto ayâya saṁbodhiṁ ten-esâ dhaṁma-yâtâ.

Now, what is the meaning of the expression, *ayâya saṁbodhiṁ?* According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, it means, "reached true knowledge". M. Senart translates it by, " set out for perfect intelligence ". Bühler renders it by " went forth in search after true knowledge ". Mr. V. A. Smith's translations is " went forth on the road to wisdom ". According to Prof. Rhys Davids, it means " set out for the *Sambodhi*—that is to say, he had set out, along the Aryan Eight-fold Path, towards the attainment (if not in his present life then in some future birth as a man) of the state of mind called Arahatship". Dr. Fleet's interpretation is entirely different from any yet proposed. He regards *so Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi râjâ dasa-vas-âbhisito* as a sentence in itself, and takes *saṁto* to stand for *śântaḥ* and to refer apparently to the Buddha. And he gives the following translation of the passage : " In times gone by, the kings went forth on pleasure-tours, on which there were hunting and other similar amusements : (*so did*)

this same king, Devânâmpiya Piyadasi, when he was ten-years-anointed: (but) 'the Tranquil One went to true knowledge': therefore (*there is now*) this touring for *dhamma*". I submit my interpretation of the passage so that the scholars may take it for what it is worth. The knotty expression with which we are concerned is, *ayâya saṁbodhiṁ*. The natural meaning of it is "went to *Saṁbodhi*" and not "set out for *saṁbodhi*" as contended by Messrs. Senart, Bühler and Rhys Davids. The words we have in the text are *ayâya* and not *patthito*. Now the question arises: in what sense is the word *saṁbodhi* to be taken here? Is it to be understood in the sense of "perfect intelligence" as done by all scholars? As pointed out by M. Senart, it is impossible to credit Asoka with pretending to have attained to perfect intelligence. This meaning must, therefore, be rejected. It is worthy of note, that, while the Girnâr recension has *ayâya* the Shâhbâzgarhî and Mansherâ texts give *nikrami* and the Kâlsî *nikami*[*ṭh*]*â*. This root *nish-kram*, which always has a physical signification, precludes us from taking *saṁbodhi* in the above sense; in other words, *saṁbodhiṁ nish-kram* cannot mean "attain to perfect intelligence". *Saṁbodhi* must, therefore, denote something with reference to which the physical action of going is possible. The conclusion is thus irresistible that the term here refers to the place where Buddha attained to true knowledge. If any instance is needed of the word *bodhi* or *saṁbodhi* having been employed in this sense, it is furnished by the following passage from the *Divyâvadâna*.

Yâvad râjñ=Âçokena jâtau bodhau dharmachakre parinirvâṇe ekaika-śata-sahasraṁ dattaṁ tasya bodhau viśeshataḥ prasâda(o) jâta iha Bhagavat=ânuttarâ samyak-saṁbodhir=abhi saṁbuddh=eti sa yâni viśesha-yuktâni ratnâni tâni bodhiṁ preshayati, etc., etc.

I have no doubt that the word *bodhi* is in this passage employed in the sense of, "the word place where the Buddha attained to perfect intelligence". It may, perhaps, be argued that the word *bodhi* does not here denote the place where, but the date when, Buddha obtained perfect knowledge. But that this is not the sense here intended is shown by the words *bodhiṁ preshayati* where the word cannot possibly have that sense. The word *iha* occurring in the extract similarly points to a place and not to a date. It may, however, be argued that *bodhi* here means the *bodhi* tree. This sense also can suit the passage of the edict, though it does not seem to be intended in the passage of the *Divyâvadâna*. For if *jâti* denotes the place where Buddha was born, *bodhi* must necessarily denote the place where he acquired true knowledge.

I have said, above, that *bodhi* or *saṁbodhi*, in the sense of the Bo tree, can also fit the passage of our Rock Edict. That this word has this signification is clear from Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language*. A slightly grander term is *mahâbodhi*, which is an almost exact equivalent of *Saṁbodhi*. It occurs in the name *Mahâbodhi-vaṁsa* of a well-known Pali work, published by the Pali Text Society. *Mahâbodhiṁ gam* is an expression which is frequently met with in this book; *e. g.*, on p. 130, we have *taṁ khaṇaṁ yeva Bârâṇasî-râjadhâniyâ Brahmadatta-râjânaṁ âdâya mahâbodhiṁ upagantvâ*, etc., etc.

Whichever sense of the word *bodhi* or *saṁbodhi* is taken, the purport of the edict in question is clear. It tells us that Aśoka's religious touring commenced with his visit to Bodhi. Of the four places connected with Buddha, that where he obtained enlightenment is considered as most important by the Buddhists. The *Divyâvadâna* also, as will be seen from the extract cited above, says that Aśoka attached far more value to Bodhi than to anything else, and consequently gives a longer and much more glowing description of his visit there. It speaks of the religious benefactions made by him and also of the interviews he had with *sthaviras*, exactly as the Rock Edict tells us.

XVII.—Was Devagupta another name of Chandragupta II?

On pp. 214-15 of this *Journal* for the last year, Prof. Pathak has given a summary of a Vâkâṭaka copper-plate grant which is in his possession. Therein Prabhâvatî, mother of the

yuvarâja Srî-Divâkarasena, is spoken of as daughter of Chandragupta II, of the imperial Gupta dynasty. The same Prabhâvatî (-guptâ) is mentioned in at least two published Vâkâṭaka grants as daughter of Devagupta. And, as Prof. Pathak's grant, which was thoroughly examined by me, is an unquestionably genuine record, the conclusion is irresistible that Devagupta is another name of Chandragupta II. But if there is still any scepticism on this point, it is, I believe, set at rest by the Sâñchî inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G. E. 93. The following words which occur in it are important: *mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Chandraguptsya Devarâja iti priya-nâm* . . . . *tasya sarva-guṇa-sampattaye*, etc. The lacunae here are rather unfortunate, but if we make an attempt at grasping the true meaning of the passage in the light of what precedes and follows, I doubt not that it is intended to tell us that Devarâja was another name of Chandragupta II. Prinsep translated this passage so as to make Devarâja another name of this Gupta king. "This may be correct," says Dr. Fleet. But he prefers to supply the lacunae by reading *Devarâja iti priya-nâm=[âmâtyo-bhavat]y=[e]tasya*, and take Devarâja as the name of his minister. *Priya-nâmâ* Dr. Fleet correctly renders by "of familiar name," but this phrase loses its sense if Devarâja is taken to be a name not of Chandragupta but of his minister. What is the force of saying that the minister's familiar name is Devarâja, when his other and generally known name is not given? On the other hand, if it is taken to refer to Chandragupta, the full significance of the passage is brought out. For the name Chandragupta is, as a matter of fact, first mentioned, and it is immediately followed by Devarâja. This first name is more widely known, but the second is more familiar. And there is also very great propriety in Âmrakârddava, the donor, giving this second name of the Gupta sovereign. For Âmrakârddava was not a Chief, but an officer of Chandragupta, as rightly said by Dr. Fleet. And it is but natural that he should mention over and above the usual and common, also the favourite, name of the sovereign by which he was familiarly known in his palace where Âmrakârddava must have more often come in contact with him than elsewhere. Again, Âmrakârddava is said to be *anujîvi-satpurusha-sadbhâva-vrittiṁ jagati prakhyâpayan*. This epithet becomes appropriate only if Devarâja is taken to refer to Chandragupta. For part of his gift is intended to produce perfection of all virtues in Devarâja. If this Devarâja is no other but a minister, the expression *anujîvi-satpurusha-sadbhâva-vritti* has no meaning. This epithet would, therefore, naturally lead us to suppose that Âmrakârddava made the grant for the benefit, not of the minister, but of the sovereign. There can thus be no doubt that the Sâñchî inscription gives Devarâja as another name of Chandragupta II only. And this corroborates the Vâkâṭaka plates of Prof. Pathak.

XVIII.—Manandasor inscription of Naravarman.

A new inscription has recently been brought to light at Mandsaur or Mandasor, the chief town of the district of the same name in Scindia's Dominions of the Western Malwa Division of Central India. It is now lying in the possession of Lala Dayashankar, a local pleader, but was originally found near the Fort gate not far from the village of Ṭoḍî.

The stone on which the inscription is engraved appears purposely to have been neatly cut out after line 9 for being used in some building. The object of the record is thus not clear, as it is lost with the missing portion of the inscription stone; but it seems to be something connected with the god Vâsudeva. This benefaction, whatever it was, was made by an individual named Satya, who was a son of Varṇṇavṛiddhi and grandson of Jaya. The record refers itself to the reign of Naravarman, son of Siṅghavarman and grandson of Jayavarman, and is dated the 5th of the bright half of Âśvoja (Âśvina) of the Mâlava (or Vikrama) year 461 = A. D. 404. It is thus evident that this Naravarman is identical with the prince of that name who is mentioned as father of Viśvavarman by the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of V. E. 480.[1] And we know from another Mandasor inscription that

[1] Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 74 ff.

Viśvavarman's son was Bandhuvarman.[2] We thus obtain the following line of the feudatory princes who ruled over Malwa from about the middle of the fourth to about the middle of the fifth century A.D.

(1) Jayavarman
|
(2) Siṁghavarman, son of (1)
|
(3) Naravarman, son of (2)
V. E. 461 = A. D. 404.
|
(4) Viśvavarman, son of (3)
V. E. 480 = A. D. 423
|
(5) Bandhuvarman, son of (4)
V. E. 493 = A. D. 436

Among the various epithets of Naravarman mentioned in our inscription occurs in l. 5 the epithet *Siṁgha-vikrânta-gâmini* (*Naravarmaṇi*). If I have understood this expression correctly, it shows that Naravarman was a feudatory of Chandragupta II. We know from Gupta coins[3], that *Siṁha-vikrama* was a title of Chandragupta II.; and we also know from a Sâñchî inscription that this Gupta sovereign was reigning till G. E. 93 = A. D. 411, *i. e.*, for at least seven years after the date of our inscription. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from concluding that the expression *Siṁgha-vikrânta-gâmini* hints that Naravarman was a tributary prince of Chandragupta II. And this is in keeping with the fact that his son and grandson, *viz.*, Viśvavarman and Bandhuvarman were feudatories of Kumâragupta.

The verse which sets forth the year is very important, and I, therefore, quote it here.

Śrî(r)-Mâlava-gaṇ-âmnâte praśaste Kṛita-saṁjñite [|].
Eka-shashty-adhike prâpte samâ-śata-chatushṭay[*e*] [||].

The two expressions that are worthy of consideration in this verse are *Mâlava-gaṇ-âmnâte*, and *Kṛita-saṁjñite*. The first reminds us of similar expressions found elsewhere, *viz.*, *Mâlavânâṁ gaṇa-sthityâ* and *Mâlava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśât* of the inscriptions dated V. E. 493 and 589 respectively and both discovered at Mandasor itself. But what is the meaning of the expression *Mâlava-gaṇ-âmnâte* which occurs in our inscription? In my opinion, it can have but one sense, *viz.*, "handed down traditionally by the Mâlava tribe." The root, *â-mnâ*, primarily signifies "to hand down traditionally,"[4] and, consequently, the word *gaṇa* can here only mean "a tribe," which again is one of its usual senses[5]. This, I think, is clear and indisputable, and the other similar phrases just referred to, must be so interpreted as to correspond to this. The late Prof. Kielhorn[6] took these latter to mean "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mâlavas." But to understand *gaṇa* in the sense of *gaṇanâ*, as he undoubtedly does, is far-fetched. Besides the expression occurring in the new inscription clearly shows that the word *gaṇa* must in all these phrases be taken to signify "a tribe." The word *sthiti* of the expression *Mâlava-gaṇa-sthiti* now remains to be explained, and it is obvious that it must bear a meaning which would correspond to *âmnâta*. *Sthiti*, therefore, must mean some such thing as 'a settled rule or usage' which, doubtless, is one of its senses[7]. This also brings out clearly the meaning of the instrumental which is intended by *Mâlavânâṁ gaṇa-sthityâ* and *Mâlava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśât*, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn. These expressions must, therefore, mean, "in accordance with the (traditional) usage of the Mâlava tribe."

[2] *Ibid*, p. 82.

[3] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1889, p. 87-90; 1893, pp. 111-12.

[4] The *Amarakosha e. g.* gives *saṁpradâya* (=traditional usage) as one of the meanings of *âmnâya*.

[5] One Bijaygaḍh inscription *e. g.* speaks of Yaudheya-gaṇa (*Gupta Inscrs.* p. 252). *Gaṇa* is also found appended on coins not only to the name Yaudheya but also to Mâlava (*Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I. by V. A. Smith, pp. 173-4 and 182).

[6] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, pp. 56-7.

[7] *Vide* the St. Petersburg Lexicon *sub voce* and the references culled there from Sanskrit literature.

Now, what can be the meaning of *Kṛita-saṁjñite*, which expression also is met with in our inscription? Obviously, the years 461, are here meant to be called *Kṛita*. But it may be asked, "Are there any inscriptions which contain instances of this word applied to years?" I answer in the affirmative, for there are at least two inscriptions which speak of *Kṛita* years. They are the Bijaygaḍh stone pillar inscription of Vishṇuvardhana and the Gaṅgdhâr stone inscription of Viśvavarman referred to above. In the first, the date is mentioned in the words, *Kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śateshv = ashṭâviṅ(ṁ)śeshu 400 20 8*, etc.[8] The second sets forth the date in the following verse: *Yâteshu chatuḥ(r)shu kri(kṛi)teshu śateshu sau[m]yeshv = âśîta-sottara-padeshv=iha vatsa[reshu]*[9]. Dr. Fleet translates the word *kṛiteshu* by "fully complete," but admits that it involves a straining. Besides, even with this meaning, the word is made redundant by *yâteshu*, which is used along with it. But the sense of *kṛiteshu*, and consequently of the two passages in which it occurs, is rendered clear and intelligible, if we take it to be a name by which the years of what is now called the Vikrama era were known, as no doubt the phrase *Kṛita-saṁjñite* of our inscription tells us. But here a question arises: "Was Kṛita the name of an era?" It is difficult to answer the question definitely at the present stage of our research. But the manner in which the word *Kṛita* is employed leads us to surmise that it was at any rate not the name of a king or royal dynasty that was associated with these years. We have *e. g.*, eras originated by Saka or Gupta kings. But we never hear of expressions such as *Śakeshu vatsareshu* or *Gupteshu vatsareshu*. The Bijaygaḍh and Gaṅgdhâr inscriptions, on the other hand, as we have seen, speak of *Kṛiteshu varsheshu* or *vatsareshu*. It is for this reason that I am inclined to think that *Kṛita* was not the name of a king or dynasty that was given to these years. It is not safe just at present to make an assertion on this point, but it appears to me that what is now known as the Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years and was consequently originally known as *Kṛita*, which means "made." If this supposition is correct, it is clear why *Kṛita* can be used in apposition to years as is no doubt intended in the passages cited above. I do not, however, believe that the Mâlavas had anything to do with the actual foundation of the era. This is evident from the word *âmnâta*, which never means "originated". The word can here signify only "handed down traditionally," and shows that the Mâlavas were only in possession of a traditional usage regarding, *i. e.*, of a mode of reckoning, the *Kṛita* years. We know that there are two systems of reckoning, which are peculiar to the Vikrama era, *viz.* the northern (*Chaitrâdi*) and the southern (*Kârtikâdi*). Whether the Mâlavas were supposed in the fifth century A. D. to have handed down one of these or not is a question which we must await further discoveries to answer.

ON SOME NEW DATES OF PANDYA KINGS IN THE 13TH CENTURY A. D.

BY DIWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M. A., B. L. (MADRAS); LL.B. (LOND.).

I.

IN December 1911, I obtained the permission of the Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, M.R.Ry. Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastriar Avargal, to search the files of his transcripts of Pâṇḍya inscriptions for unverified dates to be used as illustrations to my *Indian Chronology* as well as to the method of verification of dates advocated in my little brochure, *Hints to Workers in South Indian Chronology*. The search resulted in the discovery of many unverified Pâṇḍya dates, equal in importance, and more than equal in number, to those upon which the late Prof. Kielhorn had been engaged from 1901 up to the time of his death in 1908, and which had been published by him from time to time in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I had reason to believe that a considerable proportion of these unverified dates had also been submitted to Prof. Kielhorn, but that he had not succeeded in discovering a clue to them. From a note in German by Prof. Kielhorn, which I found in one of the transcripts in the Epigraphist's office, it was apparent that, in order to be able to deal more effectively with Pâṇḍya dates, which no doubt present features of unusual difficulty (as pointed out in my *Hints to Workers in South Indian*

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[8] Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 253. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 75 ll. 19-20.

Chronology), he had constructed a rough ephemeris for the years A. D. 1000—1300. From his description of the ephemeris, however, I gather that it could not have contained more than the first five or six columns of Table X of my *Indian Chronology*, if it contained so much; that is, he must have used, as data for all the *tithis* and *nakshatras* of a particular year, certain constants derived from the positions of the sun and the moon at the commencement of the year. I mention these details, because for the very same purpose of dealing effectively with Pâṇḍya dates, I have also constructed an ephemeris or daily *Trayâṅga* for the years A. D. 850-1000 and again from A. D. 1200 to 1500, which I intend to continue backwards as well as forwards; but my ephemeris gives, in addition to constants for every year and every new moon, which I have already furnished in print in Table X of my *Indian Chronology*, the actual ending moment of the *tithi* and *nakshatra* for every day in the period dealt with. It is possible to discover from this ephemeris, after a few trials and without any calculation whatever, the day corresponding to any combination of *tithi*, *nakshatra* and *vâra*. The accuracy of the results presented to Epigraphists in this article, as well as the ease with which I have been able to obtain positive results where Prof. Kielhorn and other investigators merely reported negative results, are due to the fact that I obtained them, as a rule, direct from my ephemeris, instead of having to work them out every time from my *Indian Chronology*.

For the sake of ready reference, I give below a list of all the Pâṇḍya rulers of the 13th and first quarter of the 14th century, whose initial years have been ascertained either by Prof. Kielhorn or by me, distinguishing by asterisks my own contributions to the list. Where I have been able to reduce to narrower limits the commencement of a reign given by Prof. Kielhorn, this fact is also indicated by an asterisk. Similarly, the fact that I have proved Kielhorn's Vîra Pâṇḍya (the only prince of that name disclosed by his investigations) to have been a *Mâravarman* is also indicated by an asterisk. To Kielhorn's eight Pâṇḍyas of the 13th century, I have added a dozen new names, so that the obscurity in which the history of the Pâṇḍyas of the 13th century has been hitherto involved, and which finds frequent [1] expression in the annual reports of the Madras Epigraphist, has to some extent been removed. It remains for me, however, to acknowledge gratefully the liberal hints I have received from Mr. Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastriar, in the matter of determining the *broad*

[1] *Annual Report*, 1911-12, p. 71. "No. 322 of 1911 which is dated in the 10th year of Jaṭ. S. Pâṇḍya and quotes the 15th of Perunjingadeva may refer to the time of Jat. S. Pâṇḍya I (1251 to at least 1261), or to J. S. Pâṇḍya II (1276 to at least 1290). The latter is more probable, as J. S. Pâṇḍya I is always distinguished by the epithet *who took all countries*." I shall show below that the king referred to is J. S. P. I.

Annual Report, 1911-12, p. 72. "Inscriptions of this Jat. Vira Pâṇḍya, copied in previous years, do not give any clue as to the period when he flourished." I shall show, by means of four inscriptions copied so early as 1894, and one in each of the years 1906, 1907 and 1908, that this Jat. Vira Pâṇḍya came to the throne in A. D. 1254 and was no other than the person well known to Madras epigraphy as the conqueror of "Îlam, Kongu and Choḷa."

Annual Report, 1910-11, p. 79. "Mâr. Vira Pâṇḍya is another unknown king to whose 10th year belongs No. 277 of 1910." Again *Annual Report*, 1909–10, p. 99. "Mâr. Tribh. Vira Pâṇḍya and Jat. Tribh. Vira Pâṇḍya, mentioned in Nos. 307 and 494 of 1909, could not be identified with any of the kings in Kielhorn's list." I shall show, by means of inscriptions, copied in 1905 and 1909, that the only Vira Pâṇḍya whose dates were investigated by Kielhorn was a *Maravarman*; I shall also show that there were at least three *Jat.* Vira Pâṇḍyas in the 13th century.

Annual Report, 1910-11, p. 79. "We do not know who *Mâr.* Sundara Pâṇḍya was in whose 12th year.........the *kaikkôlar*...". In Nos. 342, 343 and 344 of 1911 (three dated inscriptions of the 15th year of Mâr. Sund. Pâṇḍya) the *kaikkôlars* figure again, this time as donors of gifts. I have identified these dates as belonging to a reign which commenced in A. D. 1294.

Annual Report, 1909-10, p. 97. "Jat. Tribh. Sundara Pâṇḍya whose identity with any of the known kings of that name could not be definitely affirmed...... One of these inscriptions (418 of 1909) refers to an earlier grant by Kopperunjangadeva and helps us to identify this Sund. Pâṇḍya with Jat. S. P. II." I shall show, by means of 9 inscriptions copied in 1909 (including No. 418 of 1909), and three in earlier years, that this Jat. S. Pâṇḍya could not be either J. S. P. I or II, but a different person whose reign began in A. D. 1270-71.

Annual Report, 1908--09, p. 82. "Other kings of the name of Sundara Pâṇḍya who could not be identified by their characteristic epithets are Koner. Jat. Tribh. S. P. (Nos. 69 and 72 of 1908); Jaṭ. S. P. (214, 217, 395, *411*, 414 and 594 of 1908)......Tribh. S. P. (*130* of 1908 and 14 of 1909); ...... Vira Pâṇḍya is represented by 13 inscriptions, in nine of which (*119*, *120*, *122*, 128, *134*, 290, *401*...... and 598 of 1908 and 59 of 1909) he is called Jat. Tribh. Vira Pâṇḍya." I shall show below that the eight inscriptions whose numbers are italicized in this quotation and for which details of day and month are available, can be referred definitely to certain known Pâṇḍya sovereigns, *viz*. Jat. S. P. II (*411*), Mar. S. P. II (*130*), Jat. V. P. II (*134*), Jaṭ. V. P. III (*119*, *120*, *122* and *401* of 1908), and Jat. S. P. IV (*69* of 1908).

limits of the period to which each inscription relates. Without such hints, pure chronology would be very often at sea in such investigations. The annual reports of the Madras Epigraphist give only the Saka or the cyclic years of inscriptions, but not the details of month and day, where these are available. I have suggested to the Epigraphist that these details might be given in future[2] in the Annual Report in all cases in which they are available, and also, where the only possible clue to the discovery of the year is the mention of a concurrent set of *tithi*, *vâra* and *nakshatra* with or without solar month, that a brief indication of the *period* to which the characters and other epigraphical evidence might seem to point should be furnished in the Annual Report. Such an indication as "*circa* 13th cent." or "12th or 13th cent." or "later than 14th cent." is in the latter class of cases indispensable for chronological investigation. All details of *tithi*, *nakshatra* and *vâra*, invaluable as they are for epigraphic research, are at present omitted from the epigraphist's annual reports, in order possibly to economize space, but no scientific record, however brief, can be complete without such details as may serve eventually to fix the date. The inscriptions containing such details are unfortunately not many. Moreover, if the tabular arrangement at present adopted in the appendices to the Madras Epigraphist's annual reports were replaced by the narrative form which I have adopted in Part IV of this article, there would not only be no waste of space, but considerable economy would result, and the Epigraphist would be able to include in the appendices everything he wished to quote from the contents of a given inscription, instead of having to divide his notes between the "remarks" column of an appendix and the text of his report. If the procedure I suggest were adopted, all the inscriptions found in a particular temple or other building would still stand together, as they do now, but they could be provided with a conspicuous heading, describing the temple or structure by its name, village, taluk and district. The tabular form seems to have been adopted more than 20 years ago when there were much fewer inscriptions and much less information to be recorded under each than is at present the case. It is now rather a hindrance than a help to the full treatment of an important or interesting inscription.

II.

List of Pâṇḍya rulers of the 13th century.

* An asterisk distinguishes additions made by the present writer to the list of Pâṇḍya kings published by Prof. Kielhorn at pp. 226-228 of Vol. IX of *Epigraphia Indica*.

Name of ruler.	Limits of commencement of reign.
* Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya I[3]	18 Aug. 1189—15 Ap. 1190
Jaṭâvarman Kulaśekhara I	30 Mar.—29 Nov. 1190
Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I	29 Mar.—4 Sep. 1216 *25 June—19 July 1216
* Jaṭâvarman Kulaśekhara II	16 June—30 Sep. 1237
Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya II	15 June 1238—18 Jan. 1239 *3 July—1 Dec. 1238
Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I	20th—28 Ap. 1251
Mâravarman (*) Vîra Pâṇḍya	11 Nov. 1252—13 July 1253
* Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya II...	15 May—19 June 1254
* Mâravarman Śrîvallabha	4—10 Sep. 1257
Mâravarman Kulaśekhara I	2—27 June 1268 *12—27 June 1268
* Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya (II)	2 Nov. 1270—5 Jan. 1271
[4] Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya II	13 Sep. 1275—15 May 1276 *24 June 1276

[2] I am glad to find that in the annual report for 1912-13 these details are for the first time given in full—L. D.S.

[3] I have assigned numbers to the Pâṇḍyas of the 13th cent. merely for convenience of reference in this article. I do not recommend the employment of such numbers generally when dealing with the Pâṇḍyas: for it is certain that there were earlier Pâṇḍyas bearing the same names, though we do not now know their exact dates. It would be better to refer to each Pâṇḍya by the year of his accession.

[4] Called Jat. Sundara Pâṇḍya II in Professor Kielhorn's list.

* Mâravarman Vikrama Pâṇḍya	12 Jan.—29 Aug. 1283
* Jaṭâvarman Vikrama Pâṇḍya	*circa* 1280
* Jaṭâvarman Śrîvallabha	6 Ap.—12 Nov. 1291
* Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya III	20 Feb.—6 Mar. 1294
* Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya III	23 June—24 July 1296
* Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya[5] (IV)	29 Aug. 1302—5 July 1303
Mâravarman Kulaśekhara II...	6th—29 Mar. 1314
* Jaṭâvarman Parâkrama Pâṇḍya	15 Ap.—10 Aug. 1315
* Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya V	10—25 Ap. 1318

III.

The following is a *tentative* arrangement of most of the above Pâṇḍya rulers, which will make it clear,

(1) that five Pâṇḍyas ruled at the same time, a fact established by tradition as well as by the statements of contemporary historians;

(2) that two Mâravarmans and two Jaṭâvarmans were co-regents with a fifth Pâṇḍya who might be either a Mâravarman or a Jaṭâvarman;

(3) that as a rule not more than one or two years elapsed between the death of a Mâravarman or Jaṭâvarman and the accession of the next Mâravarman or Jaṭâvarman. The interval of 4 years between the death of Mâravarman Kulaśekhara I and the accession of Kulaśekhara II is accounted for by the Muhammadan invasion (*circa* A.D. 1310—*vide* Report on Madras Epigraphy for 1908-09, p. 82). Again there is a gap of ten years in col. (5) which one would expect to have been filled up by a Jatavarman. For the present I am only able to fill it up with Jaṭavarman Vikrama Pâṇḍya to whom I have assigned above the conjectural date *circa* 1280; but I admit this is not satisfactory;

(4) that, in what I have numbered as the first line of Pâṇḍyas of the 13th century, a Mâravarman was regularly succeeded by a Jaṭâvarman and *vice versâ*, each successor being presumably either appointed by the reigning sovereign during his life time or called to the throne after his death.

N.B.—The main purpose of this tabular arrangement is to show that, taking *almost* any year between A. D. 1250 and A. D. 1315, it is possible to prove from inscriptions that five Pâṇḍyas ruled simultaneously. The qualification "*almost*" would probably be unnecessary if we knew the exact *terminal* year of each reign.

The terminal year of each reign here assumed is merely the latest year occurring in inscriptions (Pudukkoṭṭai inscriptions have in one or two cases been used for this purpose by anticipation), whereas the actual year of death may have been a few years later than that here assumed. Also a more careful investigation of the relationship among the individuals reigning at the same time, as well as of the places where they had their palaces, may lead us to a better adjustment of the concurrent lines which, as presented here, make *absolutely* no pretence whatever to a genealogical arrangement.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Mâr. Sund. Pâṇḍ. I (1216—1244)	Mâr. Vîra Pâṇḍya (1252—1267)	Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya II (1254—1275)	Mâr. Sund Pâṇḍ. II (1238—1255)	Jaṭ. Kulaśekhara II (1237—1259)
Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍ. I (1251—1280)	Mâr. Kulaśek. I (1268—1310)	Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍ. III (1276—1293)	Mâr. Śrîvallabha (1257—1292)	Jaṭ. Vikrama Pandya *circa* 1280
Mâr. Vikram. Pâṇḍ. (1283—1291)		Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya III (1296—1342)	Mâr. Sund. Pâṇḍya III (1294—1307)	Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya II (1270—1302)
Jaṭ. Śrîvallabha (1291—1315)	Mâr. Kulaśek. II (1314—1344)			Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya IV (1302—1318)
				Jâṭ. Parâkrama Pâṇḍ. (1315—)
				Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍ V (1318—)

[5] This was presumably the Sundara Pâṇḍya who, according to the Muhammadan historians, murdered his father Mâravarman *Kulaśekhara* I.

IV.

An analysis of 77 Pâṇḍya dates hitherto unverified.

[Between 1902 and 1908, Prof. Kielhorn verified 67 Pandya dates—*vide* list at pp. 226-228, *Ep. Ind.*, IX.]

Explanatory Note.—I believe I have the authority of the Madras Epigraphist for saying that he accepts the *conclusions* arrived at by me in the present analysis. I accept sole responsibility, however, for the *calculations* here presented and wish to add, by way of caution, that variations to the extent of ·02 of a day may be found in my results. This is the necessary consequence of my ephemeris being calculated to two places of decimals: but wherever the variation was likely to affect the *vâra*, I have taken care to calculate the result to four places of decimals according to the full method indicated in my *Indian Chronology*.

I have in my possession about 90 Pâṇḍya dates sent to me by the Pudukkoṭṭai State which, so far as they are capable of verification, I hope to publish in a later article after getting them epigraphically examined.

In quoting dates, I have used certain abbreviations the meaning of which will be obvious; *e. g., su.* for *śukla, ba.* for *bahula*, etc. I have indicated *nakshatras* by placing their names between inverted commas, so as to distinguish them from the names of solar and lunar months. When I say that a tithi or Nakshatra ended at ·25 of the day, I mean that it ended 15 ghaṭikas after mean sunrise. A key to this decimal system will be found in the *Eye-Table* appended to my book, *Indian Chronology* (1911).

Jaṭâvarman Kulaśekhara I.

(Reign began between 30th March and 29th November 1190.)

1908 (103). From the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputûr (Madura District). Records (gift of) some lands belonging to the temple of Kailâsamuḍaiya Nâyaṇâr by the *sabhâ* of Tirupputûr, in order to provide for offerings on a festival in the same temple. Mentions *saṁvatsaravâriyam*.

Date.—Year opp. 2nd of Tribh. Kulaśekhara; 5th day of Mithuna; Sunday = Sunday 30 May A.D. 1193, which was the 5th Mithuna.

* Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya.

(Reign began between 18th Aug. 1189 and 15th April 1190.)

1903 (144). From the north wall of the six-pillared *maṇḍapa* in front of the Central Shrine in the Maṅgaiṅâtha temple at Pirâṉmalai (Madura District). Gift of money for offerings.

Tirukkoḍuṅguṉṟu was situated in Tirumalainâḍu. Mention is made of Aḷagâpuri *alias* Seḷiyanârâyaṇapuram in Kêraḷaśinga-Vaḷanâḍu.

Date.—3rd year of Jaṭ Vîra Pâṇḍya (no epithet) Kanni; su. 7; Anurâdha.

On Monday, 17 August 1192, Anurâdha ended at ·44 and su. 7 at ·20; but as the solar day was only the 145th it was 10 days short of Kanni. [*Kanni*, error for *Simha*.]

1906 (352). From the north wall of the Akhilâṇḍêśvari Shrine in the Śikhânâthasvâmin temple at Kuḍumiyâmalai (Pudukkoṭṭai State). Damaged. Sale of temple land for the purpose of repairing temple.

Date.—13th year of Tribh. Vîra Pâṇḍya; Mesha; su. . . ., Sunday; Utt. Phalgunî = Sunday 15th April 1201, when Mêsha su. 11 ended at ·84 and "Utt. Phalgunî" commenced at ·27; (possibly regnal year 13 should be 12).

Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I.

Reign began between 29th March and 4th September 1216
* 25th June and 19th July 1216

1906 (362). From the south wall of the second *prâkâra* in the Śikhânâthasvâmin temple at Kuḍumiyâmalai (Pudukkoṭṭai). Registers a public sale of land and its purchase by Uḍaiyâr Gâṅgêyarâyar, a native of Âṟṟûr in Chôḷa-Pâṇḍya-vaḷanâḍu.

Date.—3rd year of Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I; Mârgaḻi; ba. 5; Sat.; "Maghâ" = Saturday 8 December 1218. Mârgaḻi ba. 5 and "Maghâ" commenced just before sunrise on, and were current throughout, Saturday, coming to an end at ·07 and ·10 respectively on Sunday.

1907 (133). From the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Muchukundêśvara temple at Koḍumbâḷûr (Madura District). Seems to record a gift of land. Mentions Kâraiyûr in Sôḻa Pâṇḍiya-vaḷanâḍu.

Date.—13th year (in Pudukoṭṭai copy, tho' Mad. Ep. Rept. notes that regnal year is lost) of Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I; Mithuna; su. 2 (2nd *tiyadi*); Sunday; "Pushya". On Sunday 24 June 1229 Mithuna su. 2 and "Pushya" ended at ·59 and ·22. Read *tithi* for *tiyadi*.

*** Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara II.**

(Reign began between 16th June and 30th September 1237.)

1905 (62). From the fifth pillar in the second storey of the east *gôpura* of the Sundarêśvara temple at Madura. Gift of land.

Date.—2nd year of Jaṭ. Kulaśêkhara; Tula; ba. 6; Thursday; "Mṛigaśira". On Thursday, 30 Sep. 1238, Tula ba. 6 and Mṛigaśira ended at ·91 and ·36 respectively.

1910 (135). From the fifth pillar of the manḍapa in front of the central shrine in the Mulasthânêśvara temple at Teṉkarai (Madura District). Gift of land by the assembly of Sōḻāntaka-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, to the servants of the yōgasthāna of Kaṟṟavar-dāsar situated in the ninth hamlet of the village.

Date.—2nd year of Jatavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravarthin Kulaśekharadeva—Mithuna 20, su. 13; Wed.; "Anurādha". On Wed. 15 June 1239 (=20 Mithuna) su. 13 and "Anurâdha" ended at ·87 and ·20 respectively.

1908 (135). From the west wall of the store-room in the Tiruttalêśvara temple at Tirupputûr (Madura District). Seems to record a gift of four water pots for the sacred bath by Avanimuḻuduḍaiyar, wife of Dêvaragaṇḍan.

Date.—10th year opp. 13th of Tribh. Kulaśêkharadêva. 16th Mêsha; day of "Anurâdha". On Thursday 10 Ap. 1259 (=16 Mêsha) "Anurâdha" began at ·46. It ended next day at ·40.

Note.—It is curious that in the 23rd year of Jat. Kulaśekhara I (whose reign began in A.D. 1190) there is a date, Tuesday 9 Ap. 1213, which satisfies the present conditions, *viz.* 16 Mêsha and "Anuradha"; but Madras Epigraphist thinks the characters of the inscription cannot be referred to beginning of 13th cent.

Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya II.

(Reign began between 15 June 1238 and 18 Jan. 1239.)

* 3 July and 1 December 1238.

1908 (130). From the north wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Agastyêśvara shrine in the Tiruttaḷiśvara temple at Tirupputûr (Madura District). Sale of land for the maintenance of a flower garden which was founded by Poṉpaṟṟiyuḍaiyâṉ Viḻuppâdarâyar of Pullûrkuḍi in Naduviṟkûṟṟu in the district of Miḻalai-kûṟṟam.

Date.—2nd year of Tribh. Sundara Pâṇḍya. Dhanus 11, su. 10, Wed; "Aśvini". On Wed. 7 Decr. 1239 (= Dhanus 11), su. 10 and "Aśvini" ended at ·72 and ·89 respectively.

Note.—The result agrees with that of Prof. Jacobi, published, since this article was written, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 135: but the learned author satisfied himself with stating that the king in question must have begun to reign in A.D. 1237-38. As a matter of fact, the king is identical with Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya II (Kielhorn's C. *vide Ep. Ind.* vol. IX, p. 227), though the inscription itself does not style him a *Mâravarman*; and if my other identifications of Madras and Pudukoṭṭai dates of this reign are correct, he must have come to the throne between 6 Oct. and 1 Decr. 1238, *i. e.* in A.D. 1238-39, not in A. D. 1237-38.

1895 (169). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* surrounding the shrine of the goddess in the Kailâśapati temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍân (Tinnevelly District).

Date.—2nd year opp. [8th] of Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya ; ba. 6 ; Wed. ; "Hasta" = Wed. 6 Jan. 1249, when ba. 6 and "Hasta" ended respectively at ·32 and ·37 of the day.

[Possibly 11th year, not 10th ; the reading is conjectural.]

1902 (616). From the inner side of the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Vṛiddhapurîśvara temple at Tiruppuṇavâśal (Tanjore District). Sale of land.

Date.—3rd year opp. 14th of Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya "who conquered every country"; Kaṭaka; su. 7; Monday; "Svâti" = Monday, 12 July 1255, when Kaṭaka su. 7 ended and "Svâti" began.

Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I.

(Began to reign between 20th and 28th Apl. 1251.)

1906 (260). From the south wall of the central shrine in the ruined Śiva temple on the hill at Narasamaṅgalam (N. Arcot). Begins *Samasta-jagad-âdhâra*, etc. Incomplete. Registers a public sale of the village of Naraśingamaṅgalam in Mâvaṇḍûr-nâḍu, a sub-division of Kâliyûrkôṭṭam, a district of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-chôlamaṇḍalam.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya; Vṛiśchika; ba. 3; Monday; "Mṛigaśira" = Monday 6 Nov. 1256, when Vṛiśchika ba. 3 and "Mṛigaśira" ended at ·97 and ·33 respectively.

[6th Regnal year, not 7th.]

1901 (218) From the east wall of the Maṇḍapa in front of the Tirumâlîśvara temple a Mâgaral (Chingleput District). Records that a private person opened out streets and colonised the environs of the Agastyêśvara temple.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭâvarman Sundara Paṇḍya "who conquered every country." Mêsha; ba. 1; Rohiṇî. On Thursday 27 April, 1256, Rishabha su. 1 (not *Mêsha ba*. 1, which is a double error) and Rôhiṇî ended at ·38 and ·98 of the day respectively.

[7th year, as before, *vide* No. 260 of 1906 *supra*, an error for 6th.]

1901 (275). From the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Divyajñânêśvara temple at Kôviladi. (Tanjore Dt.)

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya I., distinguished by the introduction *Samasta jagad*, (Tanjore Dt.) 8th tithi; Monday; "Pûrva Âshâḍha". On Monday 17 Sept. 1257 Kanni su. 8 and "Pûrvâshâḍha" ended at ·76 and ·82 respectively.

1911 (322). From the west wall of the central shrine in the Dhênupurîśvara temple at Mâḍambâkkam (Chingleput District), quotes the 15th year of Perunjiṅgadeva and records a gift of lamps, etc., in the temple of Siṟṟeri Âḷuḍayanâyanâr.

Date.—10th year of Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya; Ṛishabha; Śukla 11; Sunday; "Śvâti". On Sunday 23 May 1260, Ṛishabha su. 12 and "Śvâti" ended at ·71 and ·60 respectively of the day. According to Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 222) Perunjiṅgadeva began to reign between February and July 1243.

[As Ṛishabha su. 11 cannot ordinarily concur with "Śvâti," su. 11 must be an error for "su. 12".]

1909 (677). From the south wall of the Maṇḍapa in front of the central shrine in the temple of Neḍuṅgaḷanāthasvāmin at Tiruneḍuṅgalam. (Tamil). Begins with the introduction *Samasta-jagad-âdhāra* of Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya. Gift of land by the people of Miśengili-nāḍu in Tenkaṟai Jayasinga Kulakāla-vaḷanāḍu.

Date.—Jaṭâvarman Sund. Pâṇḍya ("*Samasta-jagad*"); 11th year; Makara (apparent error for *Mina*); su. 6; Wed; "Rohinî" = Wed. 5 Mar. 1264 when tithi su. 6 and Nakshatra "Rohiṇi" ended respectively at ·50 and ·53. Reg. year appearing in inscription as "pat [......] ṉṟâvadu" should be read as "pat [imu] ṉṟâvadu" (13th), not as "pat [ino] ṉṟavadu (= 11th).

The combination, su. 6 and "Rohini," on Wednesday occurred only once (*i. e.*, on this date) during the 40 years A. D. 1251-1290, although ordinarily such a combination may be expected at intervals of 3, 7 or 10 years.

1903 (125) From the north wall of the central shrine in the Agastyêśvara temple at Tiruchchuṇai (Madura District). Incomplete, Gift of land. A certain Vaidyâdhirâja is mentioned.

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Paṇḍya " who took every country " [Mîna]; su. 7; [Sunday]; " Punarvasu " = Wed. 25 March 1265.

[*Mina* and *Sunday*, wrongly conjectured for *Mêsha* and *Wednesday.*]

Vîra Pâṇḍya (Kielhorn's "E".)

(Reign began between 11 Nov. 1252 and 13 July 1253.)

1909 (395) From the south wall of the verandah round the central shrine in the Vyâghrapâdêśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam (S. Arcot). Gift of land by purchase to the temple of Tiruppulippagava-Nâyanâr at Sirṟingûr, a brahmadêya in Kurukkai-kûṟṟam, a sub-division of Malâḍu in Râjarâja-vaḷanâḍu.

Date.—15th year of **Mâravarman** Vîra-Pâṇḍya; Dhanus; ba. 8; Saturday; " Hasta " = 10th Decr. A.D. 1267.

From this inscription it is clear that Kielhorn's *Vîra-Pâṇḍya* was a *Mâravarman.*

*** Jaṭâvarman Vîra Paṇḍya.**

(Reign began between 15 May and 19 June 1254.)

1894 (142) From the outside of the north wall of the second *prakâra* in the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly. Gift of a lamp.

Date.—4th year of Jaṭ. Vîra-Pâṇḍya (no epithet), Vaikâsi [22]; Tuesday; " Hasta " = Tues. 14th May A D. 1258 (= 20 Rishabha or Vaikâsi). Hasta ended at ·57 of the day.

[The solar date, Vaikâsi 22, which I found entered conjecturally in the Madras Epigraphist's records, should be 20th.]

1894 (129) From the outside of the south wall of the second *prâkâra* in the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly. Gift of land.

Date.—[4th] year of Jaṭ. Vîra-Pâṇḍya Simha; ba. 9; Sunday; " Rôhiṇi " = Sunday, 5 Aug. 1257 when Siṁha ba. 9 and Rôhinî ended at ·92 and ·74 respectively.

1894 (136) From the outside of west wall of the second *prâkâra* in the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly. Gift of a lamp.

Date.—Year opp. 5th of Jaṭ. Vîra-Pâṇḍya (no epithet); Kanni 14; ba. 5; Friday; " Uttara Bhâdrapada". On Friday 11 July 1259 (= 14 Kaṭaka, *not* 14 Kanni), ba. ·5 and " Utt. Bhâd " ended at ·36 and ·66 respectively.

[*Kanni*, error for *Kaṭaka*]

1894 (151) From the inside of the west wall of the third *prâkâra* in the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly. Gift of land.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Vîra-Paṇḍya; Kâttigai 16; " Satabhishaj " = Friday, 12 Nov. 1260 (= 16 Kâttigai) when Nak. " Satabhishaj " ended at ·17 of the day.

1908 (134) From the west wall of the store-room in the Agastyêsvara shrine in the Tiruttalîsvara temple at Tirupputûr (Madurâ District). Incomplete. Refers to the shrine of Sûryadêva in the temple of Tiruttaḷiyâṇḍa-Nâyanâr and to the Kannaḍiyan horsemen from a foreign country.

Date.—10th year of Jaṭ. Vîra-Paṇḍya; (no epithet; but Kannaḍiyan horsemen are referred to); 10th year; Mithuna 7; day of " Maghâ ". On Sunday, 1 June 1264 (= 7 Mithuna) " Maghâ " ended at ·44.

1906 (435) From the north, west and south walls of the central shrine in Vêdanârâyaṇa Perumâl temple at Murappunâḍu (Tinnevelly District). Mentions Srî-Pôsala-Vîra-Sômidêva-Chaturvêdimaṅgalam, a brahmadêya in Murappunâḍu and a *maṭha* in it. Refers to a sale made in the 11th year (of the king's reign).

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Vîra-Paṇḍya "who took Îlam, Kongu, and Chôḷa, and performed the anointment of heroes at Perumbaṟṟapuliyûr." Karkaṭaka; su. 1; Sunday; " Pushya ". On Sunday 4 July 1266, Karkaṭaka su. 1; and "Pushya" ended at ·94 and ·79 respectively.

1907 (402) From stones built into the base of the îśvara temple at Perungarunai (Madura Dt): these are fragments.

Date.—14th year of Tribh. Vîra Paṇḍya "who took Îlam, Kongu, and Śôḷamaṇḍalam". Mithuna; Ekâdaśi; Sunday; "Krittika." On Sunday 19 June 1267, Mithuna ba. 11 ended at ·84 of the day, while "Krittika" *began* at ·25 of the same day, ending at ·29 next day.

1908 (128). From the Tiruttatiśvara temple at Tirupputtur, (Madura District).

Date.—22nd year of Tribh-Jatavarman Vîra Pâṇḍya 4th day (*tedi*) of Rishabha, su. 2, the day of "Rohini." On Monday 29th April 1275 which was 4th Rishabha, but fell in the 21st year of the present reign, su. 2 and "Rohini" ended, the former at ·27 of the day and the latter about sunrise [22nd regnal year should be 21st]. Prof. Jacobi, in Pâṇḍya date No. 91 contributed by him to *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 137, was unable to refer this date in all its details to Jâtavarman Vîra Pâṇḍya whose reign began according to him in or about Decr. 1295, but the present reign is a more natural place for the date.

*** Mâravarman Śrîvallabhadêva.**

(Reign began between 4 and 10 Sept. A. D. 1257.)

1900 (110) From the south wall of the central shrine of the Ṛishabhêśvara temple at Chengama, in South Arcot District. (Inscription built in.)

Date.—4th year opposite the 17th of Tribh. Śrîvallabhadêva.

Mithuna su. 4; Saturday, "Maghâ" = Saturday 25 June A.D. 1278, when Mithuna su. 4 and "Maghâ" ended at ·76 and ·48 of the day respectively.

1904 (539) From the east wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Tyâgarâjasvâmin temple at Tiruvârûr, Tanjore District; seems to record a gift of land (inscription built in at the end).

Date.—Mâravarman Tribh. Śrîvallabhadêva's 35th year; Siṁha; su. 5; Wednesday; "Krittika."

The day intended was probably Wednesday, 3 Sept. A. D. 1292 when Kanni ba. 5 (not Siṁha su. 5) and "Krittikâ" ended at ·25 and ·59 of the day respectively. [*Siṁha* and *Śukla* are errors for *Kanni* and *bahula*.]

Note—There is a Pudukôṭâ inscription for the same regnal year, Kanni; *paurṇamî*; Monday; "Revati"; which corresponds to Monday, 10 Sept. 1291 when *paurṇamî* ended at ·02 of the day while "Revati" ended at ·39 on the following day.

Mâravarman Kulaśekhara I.

(Reign began between 12th May and 27th June 1268.)

1902 (598) From the inner *gôpura* of the Prêmapuriśvara temple at Aṉbil (Trichinopoly Dt.), left of entrance. Gift of land.

Date.—1 [1] th year of Mâr. Kulaśekhara; Kanni; su. 2; Wed.; "Anurâdha": on Wed. 19 Oct. A. D. 1278, Tulâ (not Kanni) su. 2 and "Anurâdha" ended at ·65 and ·77 respectively. [*Kanni*, error for *Tulâ*, as Kanni su. 2 cannot join with "Anurâdha" except in very unusual circumstances.]

1910 (126) From the west wall of the first *prâkâra* in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Tenkarai, (Madura District). Incomplete. Mentions the Tirujñânaśambandaṉ-tirumaḍam in the same temple.

Date.—14th year of Mar. Kulaśekhara "who was pleased to take all countries." Kanni, su. 7; Sunday; "Mula". On Sunday 21 Sept. 1281, Kanni su. 7 and "Mula" ended at ·92 and ·58 of the day.

1910 (123) From the west wall of the first *prâkâra* in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Teṉkarai (Madura District)—Damaged and incomplete. Mentions Teṉ-Kallaganâḍu.

Date.—23rd year of Mâr. Tribh. Kulaśekhara, "who took every country;" Makara; su. [7]; Monday; "Hasta". On Monday 23 June 1292 (25th year of Mâr. Kul. I), Mithuna (not Makara, which is an obvious error), su. 8 (not 7) and "Hasta" ended at ·80 and ·09 respectively. [Through the kindness of the Government Epigraphist I had an opportunity of examining the impression on which *Makara* and *Saptamî* are fairly clear. If the inscription really belongs to this reign, it must be pronounced full of mistakes.]

1910 (124) From the west wall of the first *prâkâra* in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Teṉkarai, Madura District. Damaged. Quotes the 10th year of Sundara Pâṇḍyadêva and mentions the Alâlasundaran-tirumaḍam in the same temple.

Date.—28th year of Mâr. Kulaśêkhara "who was pleased to take all countries:" Vṛiśchika ba. 4; Sunday; "Pushya" = Sunday 27 Nov. 1295, when Vṛiśchika ba. 4 and "Pushya" ended respectively at ·70 and ·56 of the day.

1909 (734) From the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Muktîśvara temple at Pûrattukôyil (Trichinopoly District). Gift of a village to the temple of Tirumuttîśvaramuḍiya-Nâyaṉâr at Kaḍuvaṉkuḍi by the inhabitants of Mudiyakkuḍinâḍu and Vaḍakôṉâḍu which were sub-divisions of Uṟattûr-kûṟṟam in Kôṉâḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyâd-Ilaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷavaḷanâḍu.

Date.—28th year of Mâravarman Kulaśekhara; Kanni (should be *Dhanus*); ba. 10; Friday; "Hasta". On Friday 2 Decr. 1295, Dhanus ba. 10 commenced, ending at ·46 next day, while "Hasta" ended on Friday, 2 Decr. at ·55.

1904 (506) From the north wall of the central shrine in the Agastyêśvara temple at Agattiyâṉpaḷḷi (Tanjore District). Gift of land in order to celebrate a festival in the temple for the recovery of the king from some illness.

Date.—31st year of Mâr. Kulaśêkhara; Ṛishaba; *śukla* . . . . Sunday, "Utt. Phalg". = Sunday 10 May 1299, when "Uttarâ-Phalgunî" ended at ·89 of the day. The tithi was su. ·9.

1906 (46) From the base of the verandah enclosing the central shrine in the temple of Amṛitaghaṭêśvara at Tirukkaḍaiyûr (Tanjore District). Gift of land for 40 lamps for the merit of Ulaguḍaiya-Perumâḷ. The country is said to have been in a state of confusion for a long time and the inhabitants to be suffering distress in other provinces.

Date.—34th year Mâr. Kulaśêkhara; Kanni; su. 7; Sunday; "Mûla". On Sunday 10 Sept. 1301, Kanni; su. 7 and "Mula" ended at ·31 and ·93 respectively.

1903 (288) From the north base of the central shrine in the Pârthasârathisvâmin temple at Triplicane (Madras). Mutilated in the middle. Records a sale of land.

Date.—[4] 9th year [may be read, says Epigraphist, also as 41st year]; Mêsha; su. 5; Wed. "Rôhiṇî". On Wednesday 27 March 1308, Mêsha su. 5 ended at ·60 of the day, while "Rôhiṇî" had ended at ·97 on Tuesday. Local time may have added about ·02 to mean time, so as to bring *Nakshatra* "Rôhiṇî" up to sunrise on 27 March. A. D. 1308 was the 41st year of this reign.

(To be continued.)

THE INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN ARTIFICAL POETRY.

BY G. BÜHLER.

[*Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M. A.; Poona.*]

(Continued from p. 148.)

III. Harisheṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta.

THE second one of the inscriptions which we are going to examine, Harisheṇa's panegyric of Samudragupta, presents many points of close touch with the *Kâvya* literature preserved and proves in the clearest manner that court-poetry was a subject most assiduously cultivated in the fourth century of our era. Harisheṇa's panegyric covered originally thirty lines and a half, and consisted of eight verses in the beginning, a long prose-passage and a concluding verse. All the three parts together form one single, gigantic sentence. Unfortunately, the four lines in the beginning containing two verses have been entirely lost and lines 4-16 have been distorted more or less, so that we have only one of the introductory verses, in a complete form. The subscription of the author in ll.31-33 informs us that not only the metrical lines but the whole of the composition is to be regarded as *kâvya*. It is said there:—

'And may this *kâvya*, of the slave of the feet of this same lord,[29] whose intelligence was expanded by the favour of dwelling near (His Majesty), the minister of foreign affairs, and the

[29] *I. e.* of the king Samudragupta. Mr. Fleet's supposition that Chandragupta II. is meant is grammatically not allowable.

counsellor of the royal prince,[30] the great General Harisheṇa, the son of Khâdyaṭapâkika[31] and of the great General Dhruvabhûti, lead to the welfare and happiness of all beings. The accomplishment of the same was, however, looked after[32] by the great General Tilakabhaṭṭa who meditates with reverence on the feet of his lord.'

Thus, this little composition of Harisheṇa belongs to that class of mixed compositions which in poetics are frequently called by the name *champû*, while the oldest works preserved for us, such as *Vâsavadattâ*, *Kâdambarî*, *Harshacharita* and *Daśakumâracharita* are called by the name of *âkhyâyikâ* or *kathâ*, 'a narration, a romance.' It possesses a certain relationship with the descriptions of kings, which are found in the *âkhyâyikâs*. Similar to these[33] last, the description, in the present case, consists of one sentence with many adjectival as well as appositional phrases and a number of relative sentences. As will be shown later on, there are many agreements in respect of details. But, besides, Harisheṇa's composition presents its peculiarity or special character in several respects. This comes out in the grouping of the elements and especially in the skill in bringing out a connection of the praise of Samudragupta with the pillar on which the inscription has been worked out. The last part which forms the very foundation for the compilation of the whole work, and the concluding verse, deserve a detailed examination not only for this reason, but also for the fact, which will be seen if they are rightly understood, that the inscription was not composed, as Mr. Fleet assumes, after the death of Samudragupta. They are to be translated in the following manner, according to my interpretation:—

Lines 30-31—'This high pillar is, as it were, the arm of the earth raised up, which announces that the fame of Samudragupta, the illustrious lord of great kings, greatly augmented through the conquest of the whole earth, filled the whole surface of the earth, and found a lovely, happy path in that it wandered from this world to the palace of the lord of gods.'[34]

Verse 9—'And the glory of this (ruler), which rises up in layers one above the other, through his generosity, his bravery of the arm, his self-control, and his perfection in the science of letters, and which follows more than one path, purifies the three worlds, like the white waters of the Gaṅgâ, which rises up in even higher floods, follows more than one path, and dashes forth rapidly freed as it is from the imprisonment in the inner hollow of the braid of hair of Paśupati.'

For the explanation of this translation, the following should be noticed.

1. The word *uchchhrita* (l. 30) refers to the arm as well as the pillar, for it is only the raised arm pointing to heaven that can announce the fact that the king's glory has gone up there. The poet here has the *Ślesha* or paranomasia in view, and the word is, therefore, to be translated twofold. It is possible that the word *uchchhrita* as taken with the pillar may mean 'erected' (just here), instead of 'high;' but to decide which of the two meanings is intended, we must know further particulars regarding the working of the inscription.

30 The title *kumârâmâtya* 'counseller or minister of the royal prince' corresponds probably to the title at present in use in Gujarât, *i. e.*, *Kuṁvarjîno kârbhârî* 'the manager of the prince'. At all the great courts in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Râjputânâ, the adult princes as well as the Chief Queens have their own *kârbhârîs* who look after their private affairs. The minister of an Andhra queen is mentioned in the Kanheri inscription No. 11 (*Arch. Surv. Rep. W. Ind.* Vol. V, p. 78).

31 I take this word to be a title, which, however, I am not able to explain. [The translation above is grammatically wrong]

32 The expression *anushṭhitam* will signify that Tilakabhaṭṭa who, as his title and name show, was a Brâhmaṇ of a high military rank, superintended the preparation of the fair copy and the engraving of the text; Cf. the use of the word at the end of the Girnâr inscription, below.

33 See, for instance, *Kâdambarî*, pp. 5-6, 53-56 (ed. Peterson); *Harshacharita*, p. 162-179, 227-228, 267-271 (Kaśmîr ed.) and especially *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 121-129 (ed. Hall), where in the midst of prose, four verses have been interwoven.

34 For the sake of comparison, I give Mr. Fleet's translation of this passage, which differs from mine. 'This lofty column is as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the fame—which having pervaded the entire surface of the earth, with (*its*) development that was caused by (*his*) conquest of the whole world, (*has departed*) hence (*and now*) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (*his*) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods—of the Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Samudragupta.' The points requiring explanation are: (1) the addition of *has departed and now*, (2) the translation of *vicharaṇa* by *experiences*, (3) the insertion of *his i. e. of* the king, before *having gone*.

2. As regards the translation of the word *vicharaṇa* by 'path,' it is to be observed that the synonyms *charaṇa*, *gamana* and *yâna* are given in this sense in the Petersburg lexicon, and that this sense is justified by the statements of the grammarians about the suffix *ana*. According to them the suffix *ana* serves to denote the means; and the path is, according to the Indian conception, one of 'the means of going.'

3. The adjectival phrases *uparyupari-saṁchayochchhrita* and *anekamârga* must be translated in two ways, like *uchchhrita*, because they refer both to the glory and to the river Gaṅgâ. As applied to the glory, the first compound means that Samudragupta's generosity, bravery, self-control and knowledge of the letters form the layers by which the glory towers itself up to the height of a mountain, and that every quality that follows, is higher and more excellent. As applied to the Gaṅgâ, the adjective alludes to the Indian belief that this river is first visible in the heavens as the milk-path, then dashing through the mid-region, it falls upon the Kailâsa and lastly it rushes downwards to the plains. Thus to the looker-on, standing on the plains and looking upwards, the water of the Gaṅgâ would appear to be towering in ever-rising layers. *Anekamârga* lit. 'which has more than one path,' as applied to glory, means, not only that the glory travelled in the three worlds, but that it followed different paths in the sense that it sprang from different causes such as generosity and so on. As applied to the Gaṅgâ, the word has only the first sense and it is well known that the Gaṅgâ is called *tripathagâ*.

According to the translation given above, the last part of the panegyric tells us that Samudragupta's fame, which is personified as a female, as is frequently met with in Indian poets, occupied the whole earth, and thus found it impossible to spread forth any more on this earth. Thus embarrassed, the fame went up to the palace of the lord of gods and thus found a new path for itself, along which it moved happily. Verse 9 informs us of the result which was brought about by this ascent to heaven. Then, says the poet, the king's glory attained to a similarity with the Ganges. For, like the same, it flows through the three worlds: heaven, mid-air, and earth. Every one of these thoughts and images occurs frequently in the court poets. Almost in every *praśasti* and in a large number of *châṭus* or verses containing flattery, it is told that the glory of the king under description rushes forward into heaven. The most usual expression used to convey this thought is the statement that the glory of such and such a person fills up the three worlds. There are many places, however, where the ascent of fame, as here, is spoken of, and the figurative motive for the same is also given in different ways. Thus it is said in a verse of the poet Amṛitadatta who was a contemporary of the Kaśmîrian Sultan Shâhabuddîn (1352-1370 A. D.), *Subhâshitâvali* No. 2457 (Peterson's edition):[35]

कीर्तिस्ते जातजाड्येव चतुरम्बुधिमज्जनात् ।
आतपाय धरानाथ गता मार्तण्डमण्डलम् ॥

'Thy fame, oh lord of the earth, which was, as it were, benumbed with cold, through its bathing in the four oceans, went up to the sphere of the sun, in order to warm itself.'

Another conception we find in Śambhu, the bard of the king Harsha of Kaśmîr (1089.—1101 A. D.) in *Râjendrakarṇapûra*, verse 67, (*Subhâshitâvali* No. 2627):

कान्तारेषु च काननेषु च सरित्तीरेषु च क्ष्माभृता
मुत्सङ्गेषु च पत्तनेषु च सरिद्भर्तुस्तटान्तेषु च ।
भ्रान्ताः केतकगर्भपल्लवरुचः श्रान्ता इव क्ष्मापते
कान्ते नन्दनकन्दलीपरिसरे रोहन्ति ते कीर्तयः ॥

'Thy glory, oh lord of the earth, which shines white like the inner sprouts of the *ketaka*, wandered about in forests and groves, on the banks of rivers, on the slopes of mountains, in cities and on the shores of the ocean; and then, as if exhausted (by this long journey), it sprouts up (as white flowers) on the lovely plots of plantain trees in the garden of gods.'

These modes of expression are quite complex and bombastic in comparison with Harisheṇa's simple and natural conception of the motive for the ascent of fame. No doubt, this is accounted for by the change in the Indian taste, which was brought about in the long period that separated these three poets.

[35] See *Subhâshitâvali*, introduction p. 4; and Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 247.

Not less familiar is the comparison of a king's glory with the Ganges, which flows through the three worlds and purifies them. Thus it is said in a verse of Paṇḍit Krishṇaka, *Subhâshitâvali*, No. 2556 :[36]

सा ख्यातास्ति जगत्त्रये सुरनदी सा शंभुचूडामणौ
शेषा शेषतुषारसोमसुषमाचौरी गुणैर्निर्मलैः ।
शुक्ता सा भवदीयकीर्तितुलनौचित्यं भजेत्सा न चे-
द्भूपालक्षणदेश संततमधोयानेकताना भवेत् ॥

This would quite suffice to show that the ideas contained in the concluding part of the panegyric, according to the translation above, are current in court poets. This itself vouches for the correctness of the proposed interpretation and proves the fact that this part of Harisheṇa's composition has been written in the *kâvya style.*

To turn from this digression to the examination of the form of the panegyric, we must begin with remarking that Harisheṇa, like Vatsabhaṭṭi, tries to introduce too often a change of metre in his verses. Thus, of the verses partially preserved, three (3,5 and 8) are composed in *Sragdharâ,* two (4 and 7) in *Śârdûlavikrîḍita,* and one each in *Mandâkrântâ* (6) and *Prithv* (9). The bad cæsura comes only once in the third *pâda* of the last verse. The language of the verses is, on the whole, simple, and especially the compounds of extraordinary length which are found used by Vatsabhaṭṭi, are carefully avoided. With the prose part of the panegyric, however, things are quite otherwise. Here, simple words are only the exception, while very long compounds are the general rule, the longest compound word (l. 19-20) containing more than 120 syllables. There cannot be any doubt that this contrast is intentional. Because all the manuals of poetics are unanimous on the point that the essence of elevated prose to be used in romances and stories consists in the length of compounds ; while the different schools are not so unanimous regarding the admissibility of long compounds in verses. Thus Daṇḍin says in *Kâvyâdarśa* I,80-81 :—

ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।
पद्येप्यदाक्षिणात्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥ ७० ॥
तद्गुरूणां लघूनां च बाहुल्याल्पत्व मिश्रणैः ।
उच्चावचप्रकारं तद्दृश्यमाख्यायिकादिषु ॥ ७१ ॥

81. 'The grandeur (strength) (of language consists) in the frequency of compounds ; it is the very life of (poetic) prose. Even in verses, it is regarded as the main feature by those who do not belong to the southern school.'

82. 'It is of many kinds, according to the mixture of a larger or smaller number of long or short syllables ; and is found in romances and other similar works.'

Daṇḍin's statement leaves no doubt about the fact that Harisheṇa follows the style of the southerners, the so-called *Vaidarbhî rîti,* which must have enjoyed in the fourth century the same high esteem as in later times, when a large number of writers belonging to the different parts of India advocate it as the most beautiful. Harisheṇa, however, could hardly have come from the south of India. His station at the court of Samudragupta shows that he lived in the north-east, in Pâṭaliputra,[37] and probably belonged to a family settled in the same place from of old.

Apart from the use of long compounds in the prose parts, there is nothing very artificial in Harisheṇa's language. Of the *Śabdâlaṁkâras,* he uses only the simplest kind of alliteration, the *Varṇânuprasa,* and even this occurs principally in the prose-parts[38] and that, too, not many times. Of the *Arthâlaṁkâras,* he uses *Rûpaka* very often, and *Upamâ* and *Ślesha* more rarely. Two instances where the last *Alaṁkâra, i. e., Ślesha* occurs have been discussed above. A third instance of the same is met with in l. 25, in the epithets of Samudragupta : साध्वसाधूदय-प्रलयहेतुपुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य which is to be translated thus :—'Of an incomprehensible prince who is the cause of the elevation of the good and of the destruction of the bad (and thus who

[36] Cf. also *Sârṅgadharapaddhati* No. 1263.

[37] That Pâṭaliputra, and not Kanauj, as is usually supposed, was the capital of the Guptas. follows from the verses from Mr. Fleet's No. VI. translated above on p. 148 wherein the minister of Chandragupta calls himself an inhabitant, of Pâṭaliputra.

[38] For instance, l. 17 : *paraśuśaraśaktiprâsâsitomara*° ; l. 20° : *râjagrahaṇamokshânugraha*° ; l. 26 : *vigrahavato lokânugrahasya,* and so on.

resembles) the unfathomable spirit (Brahman), that is the cause of the origination and the destruction (of the world) which consists of both good and bad people.' The poetic figure used here is a *Śleshamûlaṁ Rûpakam, i. e.,* a metaphor which is brought about by the double meaning of the words used. This instance reminds us very much of the play on words found in Subandhu and Bâṇa. This is, however, the only instance of the kind, in the whole of the *praśasti*, a circumstance which shows, that Harisheṇa, like Kâlidâsa and other adherents of the *Vaidarbhî rîti*, indeed, regarded the *Ślesha* as a poetic embellishment, but himself shunned the insipidly frequent use of the same. Harisheṇa, however, does not direct his attention so much to the use of *Alaṁkâras*, as to the fine execution of the pictures of the several situations under description, and to the choice as well as the arrangement of words. Of the former, verse 4, the only verse that can be restored completely, is a typical example in point, which depicts the manner in which Samudragupta was ordained by his father to be his successor :

4 'Here is a noble man !'. With these words, the father embraced him, with shivers of joy that spoke of his affection, and looked at him, with eyes heavy with tears and overcome with love—the courtiers breathing freely with joy and the kinsmen of equal grade looking up with sad faces—and said to him : 'Protect then this whole earth.'

It is not possible to have a more concise and a more graphic picture of the situation. There is not a word which is unnecessary ; and one believes as if he sees the scene with his own eyes, how the old Chandragupta, in the presence of his sons, each of whom hoped to have the highest fortune, and of his court household who were afraid lest the choice may fall on an unworthy person, turns round to his favourite son. This verse is one of the best productions the Indians have given us, in the domain of miniature-portraits, which is their forte. This very example would also illustrate Harisheṇa's special care for the choice and arrangement of words, a qualification which can be easily seen even in other parts of the composition, both metrical and prose. In the prose part, there are inserted between the long compounds, at definite intervals, shorter phrases, in order to enable the reciter to draw his breath and the hearer to catch the sense. In the long compounds, the words are so chosen as to bring about a certain rhythm through the succession of short and long syllables ; and care is taken to see that this rhythm changes from time to time. This can be best seen by a representation of the design of the compounds occurring in lines 17-22, by marking the accents as is customary in recitation. The lines in question contain only seven long compounds, the arrangement of whose syllables is as follows:—

1. ⏑́⏑⏑ | ⏑́⏑⏑ | ⏑–́⏑ | ⏑́⏑⏑ | ––́⏑

2. ⏑́⏑⏑ | ⏑́⏑ | ⏑–́⏑ | –́⏑ | –́–

3. ⏑–́⏑ | ––́⏑ |

4. ⏑́⏑⏑ | ⏑́⏑ | –́⏑ | –́– | –́–́⏑ | –́⏑⏑ | –́⏑–́⏑ | ⏑–́⏑ | ––́⏑–́⏑ –́ | ⏑⏑́⏑⏑ |
⏑––́⏑– | ⏑́⏑ | ⏑–́⏑ | –́– | ⏑⏑́⏑–⏑́⏑⏑ | –́⏑⏑⏑ | –́⏑–

5. –⏑́⏑⏑ | ⏑–́⏑ | –́–––́⏑– | –́⏑–́⏑ | ––́⏑⏑ | –́⏑–́⏑ | –́⏑⏑́⏑⏑ | ⏑–́⏑ |
⏑́⏑ | ––́⏑⏑ | –́⏑–́–́ ⏑–́⏑⏑ | ⏑́⏑⏑ | –– ⏑́⏑ | –́⏑–́– | ⏑–́⏑⏑ | –́⏑–́⏑ | ––́⏑⏑ |
–́⏑–́⏑ | ––́⏑–́⏑–́⏑ | –́⏑–́⏑⏑ | ⏑–́⏑ | –́⏑⏑⏑́⏑⏑ | ⏑–́⏑⏑ | ⏑́⏑⏑ | –́⏑ | –́⏑
–́⏑⏑ | –́⏑ | ⏑́⏑⏑ | –́– | –́⏑⏑ | ⏑́⏑– | ⏑–́– | –́⏑ | ⏑–́–́⏑

6 –́⏑–́⏑ | ⏑́⏑⏑ | –́⏑–́⏑ | –́⏑–́⏑ | ⏑́⏑⏑⏑–́⏑ | –́⏑–́–́⏑⏑ | –́⏑⏑́⏑–́–́
⏑–́–́⏑ | –́– | ⏑́⏑– | ⏑́⏑––́– | ⏑–́⏑ | ⏑́⏑–

7. ⏑́⏑–́⏑–́⏑⏑ | –́– | ⏑́⏑⏑ | ––́⏑ |

It is obvious that the short compounds marked 3 and 7 are to serve as resting points, and that the rhythm in 1, 2 and 4, is to remind us of the beginnings of the *Daṇḍakas.*

In Harisheṇa's poetical imagery, we come across many conceptions that are very familiarly met with in the *kâvya* literature. Some of these have been already dwelt upon, while discussing the concluding part of his composition. We now notice a few others. The fragment of verse 3 says :—

'The order of the possessor[39] of the true meaning of the *Sâstras* whose heart is highly happy at the association with the good,—multiplied as its power is, by the virtues of the wise—puts an end to the war between good poetry and prosperity and thus enjoys in the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory endures in many poems.'

Here we have the exceedingly favourite allegory of the fight or discord between the Muse and the Goddess of wealth, which condemns the poet and the learned man to poverty and makes the rich incapable of service to Wisdom and Art. By way of comparison, I quote here from the classical literature only the *Bharatavâkya* at the end of the *Vikramorvaśî*, where Kâlidâsa prays that this antagonism should cease :—

परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।
संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूतयेस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

'May the union of the mutually hostile goddesses Srî and Sarasvatî, which is to be found only rarely in one place, bring good luck to the good !'

Further, the author mentions in verse 8, which will be given yet more fully later on, amongst the high excellences of the king, शशिकरशुचयः कीर्तयः सप्रताना: 'the fame sprouting forth, shining purely like the moon' and thus bears evidence to his being aware of the well-known idea of the *kîrtivallî* or the creeper of fame, which covers over the three worlds with its tendrils. With this may be compared in the field of classical literature, *Śârṅgadhara-paddhati*, No. 1235.

A third most favourite poetic representation of fame is met with in the second compound in l. 23, referring to Samudragupta :—'Whose fame arising from the re-establishment of many fallen kingdoms and of many extinguished royal races, is tired by its journey through the three worlds.' Hemachandra also in the *praśasti* to his grammar, verse 29, similarly speaks of the want of rest for his master's fame :[40]

यद्दोर्मण्डलकुण्डलीकृतधनुर्दण्डेन सिद्धाधिप
क्रीतं वैरिकुलात्त्वया[41] दलत्कुण्डावदातं यशः ।
भ्रान्त्वा त्रीणि जगन्ति खेदविवशं तन्मालवीनां व्यधा-
दापाण्डौ स्तनमण्डले च धवले गण्डस्थलेवास्थितिम् ॥

'With the bow bent into a circular form by your arm stretched round, you won, oh king Siddha, your fame that shines whitely like the blooming flower of the jasmin; being rendered helpless through the exhaustion of wandering through the three worlds, that your fame has at last rested itself on the palid, round breasts and the white cheeks of the Mâlava women.'

In l. 25, again, we have quite an original conception which is meant to illustrate how far Samudragupta's glory obscured that of all his rivals. The poet there praises Samudragupta as a ruler 'who, in consequence of the overflow of his many virtues elevated through hundreds of good works, wiped off with his feet the fame of other kings.'

The idea seems to be that the leaves, on which the fame of other kings is written, lie before Samudragupta. The flow of his virtues streams over them, and he is only required to stir his foot, to obliterate the praises of the rulers of antiquity.[42] I cannot point out anything in literature, which exactly corresponds to this. Nevertheless, it cannot escape the attention of any one, that the conception quite fits in with the character of the style of court-poets.

In the next line (26), we meet with a comparison which occurs frequently in the epics and which is used in later times by almost every classical poet and in every *praśasti*—where Samudragupta is celebrated as a king 'who resembles Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka, *i. e.*, the guardian-gods of the four directions.' Equally favourite is the immediately following *Upamâ*: 'who puts to shame the preceptor of gods by his sharp and subtle understanding, and Tumburu, Nârada and others, by his lovely performances of music.' About the comparison of the king with

[39] *I. e.* of Samudragupta.

[40] Cf. also the verse quoted above on p. 175 from *Râjendrakarṇapûra.*

[41] In the second line, two letters seem to be wanting between त्वया and दलत्.—V. S. G.

[42] As it appears to me this passage presumes the use of the colour usually prepared from soot and gum Arabic in old times, which was used for writing on palm leaves, as the Horinzi-MS. shows. The oldest full description of such MSS. can be had from the different passages of Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ.*

Brihaspati, we have spoken above on page 144. As for the statement that Samudragupta was a better musician than the well-known Gandharva and the sage of gods who invented the *vînâ*, an explanation is furnished by the coins, as Mr. Fleet has pertinently remarked, on which Samudragupta is represented as a lute-player. For the last climax of hyperbolical representation, we also meet with analogies in the *kâvyas*. When Harishena says in l. 27-28, that his master is 'a god dwelling in this world, whose many marvellous and noble deeds deserve to be praised for a very long time and who is a man only in that he performs the acts necessary according to the conventions of the world,' we are reminded, in the first place, of Bâṇa's description of his patron, Harsha (*Srî-Harshacharita*, p. 207-208), where his deeds have been put on a level with those of Indra, Prajâpati, Vishṇu and Siva, and he himself has been identified with these gods. A still more important parallel is provided by the statements of the Prâkrit poet, Vâkpati, about Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*Gaüḍavaho*, verses 167-181), according to which, the king is an incarnation of Bâlaka-Hari or Vishṇu. As is to be expected of a poet of the eighth century, Vâkpati expresses the idea with a greater elaboration of details[43].

Many more points of relationship with the *kâvya* literature can be discovered in the individual expressions of our *praśasti*. It would suffice if I only point to *upaguhya (*for *âślishya)*,[44] *bhâva-piśuna, mlân-ânana, sneha-vyâlulita, bâshpa-guru* (all in verse 4), *adbhut-odbhinna-harsha* (verse 5), *uchchâpakâra, tosh-ottuṅga, sneh-phulla*, and the frequent use of *sphuṭa*. The parallel passages given in both the Petersburg lexicons spare me the trouble of giving here many new quotations. Whoever is familiar with the diction of the *kâvyas*, will not require any special proof, but will at once recognise the affinity of these and other modes of expression to those used by classical poets.

Now, we have to notice a number of cases, especially in the prose part, where Harishena obviously tried to surpass his rivals in the composition of *praśastis*. To this category belong most of the long compounds in lines 17-24, in which the closing part especially comes now and then as a surprise and deviates very much from the usual track. Thus, in line 21, for instance, instead of saying that Samudragupta had acquired great power through the forcible extinction of many kings of Âryâvarta, Harishena represents his master as a prince 'who was great through his power which expanded itself through the forcible extinction of many kings of the land of the Âryas.' Perhaps, the simple and natural expression प्रसभोद्धरणलब्धमहाप्रभावस्य appeared too trivial to the poet, and, for that reason, he went in for the more artificial one प्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्तप्रभावमहतः. So also the last parts of the following compound phrases are unusual and deliberately sought :—

1 (l-22-23)—'whose fierce sovereignty (the neighbouring kings) propitiated, by means of the payment of all the taxes (levied), the carrying out of his orders, salutations and visits,' 2 (l. 25)—'the mighty bravery of his arm which held the whole earth in bondage, received homage from the inhabitants of all countries, in various ways, such as causing themselves to be presented to him, offering daughters and other presents, and requesting him for a decree with the Garuḍa seal for the possession of their country,' 3 (l. 26)—' whose heart had willingly received the formula and the consecration for the deliverance of the poor, the miserable, the helpless and the sick'. Whoever will take the trouble of reading through other published *praśastis*, will easily see the originality of these modes of expression and judge of them according to their worth. The fact, however, that Harishena makes use of deliberately sought modes of expression is to be explained by the existence of many other similar panegyrics whose simple and unadorned diction he tried to surpass.

The most clear proof, however, for the fact that Harishena's composition does not at all belong to the beginning of the *kâvya* period, is provided by those passages in which he speaks of the king's peculiar poetic activity. In this connection, we should refer above all to what we have of the eighth verse, wherein the poet declares :—

'He alone is worthy of the thoughts of the learned! Because what excellence is there, which would not be his? He has made firm the barrier of law, his is the sprouting fame that shines purely like the rays of the moon, his the wisdom which pierces down to the truth, his the self-control . . . . . . , his the poetic style which is worthy of study, and his are the poetic works which multiply the spiritual treasures of poets.'

In the second part of his composition, Harishena again refers to the last point when he says in l. 27 that Samudragupta's 'title as the prince of Poets was well established by the composition of many poems worthy of the imitation of the learned.' If one adds to this, verse 3 spoken of above on page 176 and the expressions used by Harishena about his person, it naturally follows that, during the reign of Samudragupta, the *kâvya* literature was in full bloom, and that the conditions at his court were absolutely similar to those which are reported to have prevailed in later times at the courts of Kanauj, Kaśmîr, Ujjain, Dhârâ and Kalyâṇî, and which are found to exist even to this day, here and there in India. The cultivators of Sanskrit poetry, who were called by the names of *kavi* or *budha* or *vidvas*, were not born or self-taught poets, but were professional learned

[43] The deification of the king is already found in old times; *e. g.*, in *Mânava-dharmaśâstra* VII, 4—9.
[44] See above p. 143.

men or Paṇḍits who studied the *śâstras*, *i. e.*, at the least, *Vyâkaraṇa*, *Kosha*, *Alaṁkâra* and *Chhandas*, and who wrote according to the hard and fast rules of poetics, as is shown by the form of Harisheṇa's little composition. The Sanskrit *kâvya*, which owed its origin to the court-patronage, and which can exist only by means of the same, was assiduously cultivated at the courts. The king supported and raised to honour, such poets, and even he himself, and with him his high officers, too, emulated with their protéges. Perhaps he had even a *kavirâja*, or a poet-laureate, appointed. At any rate, the title, as such, was in use in the days of Samudragupta, the title which in later times occurs very often in Sanskrit literature, and which, even at present, is given away by Indian princes, associated as it is with many benefits. His court could not thus have been the only one which patronized the exertions of the Paṇḍits in the domain of poetry.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A NEW LIST OF BUDDHISTIC SANSKRIT WORDS, by Prof. Sylvain Levi and G. K. Nariman.

THE *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, a monument of Germanic erudition, published at the expense of Russia, contains an almost exhaustive inventory of Vedic and Brahmanic Sanskrit. Buddhism hardly appears in it at all. The authors of the *Dictionary* and their collaborateurs make use of a few meagre texts only. But in the last forty years the material for Sanskrit Buddhism has vastly increased. The published texts have revealed a perfect treasure of words which classic Sanskrit had ignored or neglected. A Buddhistic Sanskrit Dictionary is one of the tasks to be undertaken in the near future. Meanwhile, it is of importance to elaborate the materials so as to put them on some sort of working basis. Cowell and Neil have given an excellent model in the glossary that they have added to their edition of the *Divyâvadâna*. Mr. G. K. Nariman has been good enough to prepare the list of new words that I have pointed out in my notes on the text and translation of the *Mahâyâna Sûtrâlankâra*. It may not perhaps be superfluous to place this list at the disposition of philologists, who are interested either in Sanskrit or Buddhism.

SYLVAIN LEVI.

A list compiled by G. K. Nariman of new words unknown in classical Sanskrit and not yet met with in Buddhist Sanskrit except in the *Mahâyâna Sûtrâlankâra* of Asanga, edited and translated by Prof. Sylvain Levi.[1]

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[1] The spellings of the words in this list are given as they are published in Prof. Sylvain Levi's book.

A NOTE ON SIVA-BHAGAVATA.

THE mention of *Śiva-Bhâgavata*[1] in *Patañjala-Mahâbhâshya* is no doubt a proof that the Śaiva sect existed in the days of Patañjali. But that the Vishṇu-cult is anterior to the Śaiva cult, whenever the latter came to be formed, is also proved by this compound word. Bhâgavata is a worshipper of Bhagavân, the latter being a name peculiar to Vishṇu. See *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* and my notes on Bhagavân in the *Journal*, R. A. Society, London. The Bhâgavatas, or those who belonged to the Vishṇu cult, are contemporaneous with the Vedas. When the Śaiva cult was inaugurated, it was felt to be necessary to appropriate this term of high and hoary sanction. In adopting it, therefore, it was also necessary to add a distinguishing mark showing the differentiation of the new cult from the old one. That mark was, of course, Śiva. This was added; and the compound word Śiva-Bhâgavata was thus launched into the world of the Sanskrit Grammarians.

A. GOVINDACHARY SVAMIN.

MYSORE, VEDA-GRIHAM.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ALOPEN AND SILADITYA[2].

PROFESSOR TAKAKUSU (*I-tsing*, p. xxviii, n. 8) states that Alopen, the Nestorian missionary to China, visited Sîlâditya, in India, in the year 639 A.D. This statement is based on a remark of Edkins, quoted in the *Athenæum* of July 3, 1880, p. 8. Back numbers of the *Athenæum* are not readily available, and more than one writer has accepted Takakusu's account, without testing it, as an important contribution to the history of Christianity in India. I myself did this in the article *Bhakti-mârga*, in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. ii, p. 548.

Since then, the statement has been called in question, and I have been able to trace it to its source. I now hasten to correct any wrong impression which may have been caused by my trust in Takakusu. He is quite wrong, and has entirely misunderstood Edkins. In the passage referred to, Edkins is not dealing with Sîlâditya, but with the Emperor of China.

CAMBERLEY. GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

BOOK-NOTICE.

ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB (Translated into English with Notes) and Historical Essays by JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., Professor, Patna College. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1912. Rs. 1-8, pp. 242.

This little volume consists of three parts. (1) A short account of the life and reign of Aurangzib. (2) A collection of anecdotes regarding that great emperor. (3) Miscellaneous essays dealing with the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib.

Of these, the second part is of real value to English students desirous of closer acquaintance with the individuality of the last of the great Mughal rulers. Here we have Aurangzīb as courageous youth, jealous brother, ardent lover, stern parent, administrator of justice, upholder of royal prerogative and disappointed dreamer. The anecdotes have lost little of their vigour by translation and the editor has elucidated the text by valuable notes.

The third part is necessarily more fragmentary, but all the essays are brightly written and several contain information not hitherto available to the English student, notably those entitled "The Companion of an Empress" and "Daily Life of Shāh Jahān." The final essay, describing the self-sacrifice of Khān Bahādur Khuda Bakhsh in collecting the nucleus of a "Bodleian" Library at Patna will be read with deep interest by those hitherto ignorant of what this public benefactor accomplished for his own country. It is a pity that the learned author occasionally uses slang expressions, evidently under the impression that they are idiomatic English.

L. M. A.

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XLI., p. 272.

[2] Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1913, p. 144

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bart.

(*Continued from p. 159.*)

APPENDIX III.

Extracts from

Millies, Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes de Malaie. La Haye, 1871.

(Translated).

I. pp. 130 ff. Beaulieu is, I think, the first to mention the coins of Kedah: "They cast (says he) money somewhat of the material of French *sous*, of a little better alloy however, which they call *tras*, 32 being worth a dollar. They (the people) count by *taels* (*tahil*), but a *tael* there is worth four of the Achin (*tael*)."[35]

The name *tras* or *teras* for a coin is not otherwise known to me, but I think it must be explained by *tra*, stamp, mark, which Marsden quotes in the term *tra timah*, lead (or tin) marked (to give it currency).

Mr. [J. R.] Logan, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1851, p. 58, says,[36] in 1850, that the native coin is the *tra*, a small round piece of tin, with a hole in the centre, of which 160 make a *tali* and 8 *tali* are worth a dollar.

Tavernier is the very first to publish some coins "of the King of Cheda (as he writes the ordinary name Quedah) and Pera." In the second part of his work (*Les six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, Paris, 1679, Pt. II.) p. 601,[37] he says that "the King struck no other coin than of tin," and he gives on the accompanying plate under Nos. 1 and 2 the "figure of a great piece of tin . . ." It is the only specimen of the celebrated traveller's collection which I have unearthed in the Musée Numismatique of the Bibliothéque Impériale at Paris. I give a drawing of it as I saw it, but it has suffered much during these two centuries.[38] The piece is octagonal with two lines in relief parallel to the edge. Between these lines there are some dots. There is no hole in the middle, but a small square, which Phayre thought to be a rough image of the *chaitya* on the ancient Buddhist coins, with a central chamber for relics (?). Crawfurd, who copied without remark Tavernier's coin, thought that this square represented a hole, and had the coin engraved with a hole on the obverse, but without a hole on the reverse![39] Round the square are some characters which I have not been able to decipher. The reverse, which has some lines in high relief, parallel to the edge, with larger dots between the lines, bears in the drawing of Tavernier the figure of a serpent in the field.

There is in the same Museum a piece of tin of a similar type to the above specimen, with nearly similar characters, but it is round in form, and has on the reverse a figure which resembles a lotus flower.[40]

Despite the authority of Tavernier, who, however, did not visit the Malay Peninsula himself, I doubt whether his coin belongs to Kedah or Perak. Not only is it unlike any of the known

[35] *Relation de divers Voyages curieux*, etc. Paris, 1666, Part II., p. 83. Beaulieu is probably here contrasting the difference between the silver standard of Kedah and the gold standard of Achin.

[36] This is from a footnote.

[37] *Vide* page 6 of the English Translation of 1678. See *ante*, p. 80.

[38] Plate XXII, fig. 230.

[39] *Hist. of Ind. Archipel.* I. p. 253, plate 6 M. de Chaudoir, *Recueil de monnaies de la Chine*, St. Petersburg, 1842, has also repeated the obverse (Pl. LIX, No. 26), but by a mistake of his in the catalogue and on p. 79 we find "after Raffles" instead of "after Crawfurd."

[40] Phayre gives a drawing of a similar piece of money, without explaining the legend (Pl. XVI. No. 6).

Malay coins, but also the characters on it do not appear to be Arabic, as would be expected at that time. On the contrary, the type resembles the coins which were in use in the neighbouring countries to the North, either on the coast of Tenasserim or Burma.[41] Pieces of a similar kind, probably called *kebean*,[42] which I know, and of which I have seen a good specimen in the Musée Numismatique de La Haye, usually bear on the obverse a circle with an eight-pointed star, and round it a legend in Pali in Burmese characters, and on the reverse a fantastic figure of a quadruped, probably of a *sinha* or lion, or according to Phayre of a fabulous animal, called *to* or *nayâ*[43] in Burmese mythology, made up of a winged horse and a deer. Paulin de Saint Barthélémy (Fr. Paullinus), missionary to the Indies, was the first to attempt to explain one of these coins,[44] and quite lately[45] Lt. Col. A. P. Phayre has given drawings of a number of those which are to be found in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta [A. S. Bengal], but [both] without adding much light which would extend the knowledge of these numismatic remains.

The other coin (his Plate, Nos. 3 and 4) which Tavernier attributes to the King of Kedah and Perak is of quite a different character: "The little coin, (says he) passes at the value of 4 *deniers*." It is unfortunate that Tavernier's drawing is so badly executed, that it is difficult to decipher the legend. Still, I think I can distinguish the ordinary formula of the [Muhammadan] creed—*la illaha ill' illahu muhammadi' r-rasulu' llahu*: *zarb fi* . . . *sanat*? 1041? . . . There is no God, but God: Muhammad is the Prophet of God: struck at . . . year? 1041? (1631-2). Unfortunately the name of the town has been injured,[46] but it must be confessed that what remains visible does not appear to agree with the name of any known locality in the State. The date is also very doubtful. The type of this side (of the coin) resembles the obverse of the Persian coins of the Sufis; but the Shiah formula [of the creed] *Ali waliu' llah* [Ali is the Prophet of God] is not visible in the drawing. The reverse, which seems smaller, does not bear anything but some ornaments. In the centre is an eight-pointed star, or rather a wheel, encircled by a garland of flowers and fruit, with a milled edge. Gemelli Careria, *Giro del Mondo*, Vol. II., p. 148, without quoting the source, has reproduced this coin the wrong way round.

2. p. 133. After Tavernier we find hardly any mention of Kedah coins. However, I have discovered one (which is published by Marsden), but having been wrongly read has remained unrecognised. This piece is (what seems to me very remarkable) of silver . . . The obverse bears: *bubalad Kadah daru' l-aman*:[47] *sanat* 1154, in the country (or kingdom) of Kedah, the abode of peace, year 1154 (1741-2).[48]

3. p. 137. In the Royal Numismatic Cabinet at the Hague I discovered a copper coin of Kedah, so far, unique.[49] Its weight is 1¾ grs. The obverse bears . . . *Kedah*; the reverse, *daru' l-aman*: Kedah the abode of rest. The first word is too indistinct for me to dare to define it.[50] . . . This piece bears no date.

[41] Millies was however, not aware of the fact that the Burmese legend gives the mint in Pali as *Mahâsukha nagara*, which exactly translates *Dâru' l-amân* or Kedah, on the Kedah coins. see *ante*, p. 65.

[42] *Cf. J. R. A. S.*, 1836, III. 302. [This is, however, a mistake. The weight and value do not admit of the suggestion. These coins must have been about 6½ cents in value (*ante*, p. 31), whereas the *kebean* = *keping* were worth about 1 cent. See the quotation from Wilson, *Documents of the Burmese War*, 1827, *ante*. p. 36 and Pl. V fig. 3]

[43] This is really a compound expression, *to-nayâ*, a winged *to*.

[44] *Systema Brahmanicum liturgicum mytholigicum civile ex monumentis Indicis Musei Borgiani Velitris*, Rome, 1791, p. 217, Pl. 31, No. 12. Phayre, *J. A. S. B.* 1863, No. 291, pp. 271-3.

[45] Millies is writing before 1866, when he died.

[46] I entirely agree with Millies' reading and would like to go further and read *zarb fi Kadah*, struck at Kedah.

[47] *dar* is for *dar*.

[48] Plate XXII. figs. 231-232.

[49] Plate XXII. fig. 234.

[50] May it not read *bĕlanja Kedah*: Kedah, money.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Logan of Singapore for several pieces, unfortunately badly preserved, which belong to the class of *ira*, or modern tin coins of Kedah. I will describe those of them which are the most distinct.

A round tin coin[51] with an irregular hole: diameter, 23 mill.; weight, 1·85 grs. The obverse bears *dar* (*sic*) *-u' l-aman* (*sic*) *balad Kedah*; the country of Kedah, abode of peace. The reverse: *tahan alif, 1224* (1809-10). The first and fourth words of the obverse and the second of the reverse are written contrary to orthography. Also if the word *dar* were not very distinct, one might read *zarb fi* [struck at]. Moreover the second and the fourth figures of the date are not very distinct on the coin, but nevertheless I think I can read the year 1224 by the accompanying definition *tahan alif*, the year A.

4. P. 138. One more piece of this State,[52] diameter 24 mill. and weight 150 grs., though of modern date, offers several difficulties in reading and explaining. I think I can read on the obverse: *belanja balad* (?) *al-parlis qadah*: *sanat 1262*, money of exchange of the country of Perlis, Kedah: year 1262 (1846). On the reverse is seen a lotus flower of five petals. The Malay word *belandja* [*bĕlanja*], revenue, expense, is moreover in use in the Malay Peninsula to indicate money of exchange. But the third word with the [Arabic] article seems to me so peculiar, as to leave me in doubt. I have found no explanation of it. I have never seen the name Perlis written in Malay characters, but as it is the name of one of the principal towns, which has often been the capital of the State, this name seems to me most probable.

5. P. 145. We have not been able to discover any coins which could with certainty be attributed to the other small States in the Southern part of the Malay Peninsula, but we must speak here of a class of tin coins, which though very simple in form, offer several difficulties in determining them. These pieces do not usually bear anything except some titles, either on one face or divided between the two sides; sometimes with, often without, a date.

A large round piece[53] of this kind is to be found at the Musée Royal de La Haye. On one side is the whole legend— *maliku' l-adil khalifu 'l-muminin sanat* with two figures of a date—13: King [by grace] of the Just [God], the chief of the believers, year—13. From the appearance of the piece I should think that it is not of ancient date and that the year 1213 H. (1798-9) must be meant. Some others, of a little smaller size, in the same collection, appear to be of the same manufacture, but have simply the title without date:—*khalifu' l-muminin*, chief of the believers. In the Musée de Gotha there is to be found a fine example, and two less well preserved specimens in the British Museum, of an octagonal form, without a hole, [but] with the same legend and no date: on the obverse *maliku' l-adil*; on the reverse *khalifu' l-munimin*.[54]

6. P. 147. A learned Malay, who has published several works in his own language, Abdu'llah, son of Abdu'l-kadir, made, in 1838, a voyage from Singapore to Kalantan on the East Coast of the Peninsula. A judicious observer, he noted the most remarkable things he saw, and to please the English he published an account of his voyage in Malay at Singapore in 1838.[55]

. . . Speaking of the State of Trengganu, or Trangganu, on the East Coast, which formerly acquired a certain fame and played, even in the past century, a fairly great part in the political relations of the Peninsula, but which is now fallen into profound degradation, he mentions, among

51 Plate XXII. fig. 235.

52 Plate XXII. No. 236-7.

53 Plate XXIII. No. 249.

54 [Plate XXIII. Nos. 251-2.] Perhaps the reading should be rather *Malik-al-'adil*, the just king, or *Milku-'l-adil*, legal tender.

55 *Bahwa ini Kesah pu-layar-an Abdullah, ben Abdul-kadir munshi.* Deri Singapura ka-Kalantan. Turkarang ulih-nya. Singapur, 1254—1838. (Published also in Malay characters) M. Ed. Dulaurier has rendered a great service by making the work better known through his French translation of the Malay text, published under the title:— *Voyage d' Abd-Allah ben Abd-el-Kader de Singapore à Kalantan*: Paris, 1850.

other things, the coins of the country. He says, p. 48, that the money of exchange at Trengganu (*wang blanja negri Trengganu*) is 3840 *pitis*[56] of tin (*pitis timah*) to one dollar (*ringgit*). They bear an impression of the words *maliku' l-a'dil* and are of the size of our *duit* (*duit kei*). It seems to me from this remark to be very probable that all the coins of this class [above] mentioned belong to the Malay State of Trengganu.

7. P. 149. Passing on to Pahang during his voyage along the same coast, the learned Malay Abdullah complains greatly of the difficulties relating to the monetary system : 16 *tampang* (blocks of tin) are worth one dollar, but cannot be broken up into three *suku*, a half *suku* and one *suku*.[57] If we wish to buy an object of very small value, we must give a whole *tampang*. (*Cf.* text p. 23, French trans. p. 23). Thus this State, once so flourishing, has returned to an almost primitive savagery, where great blocks of tin, the produce of the country, serve as an imperfect medium of exchange.

8. P. 150. I have been unable to discover any ancient monetary remains of this State (Patani), but I have received one coin of a fairly recent date. It is a piece of tin, round in form, with a round hole, larger and heavier than the ordinary *pitis*. The obverse bears the Malay legend : *in* [*ini*] *pitis blanja raj* [*raja*] *Patani*, this is a *pitis* current of the *raja* of Patani.[58] On the reverse there is : *khalifu' l-muminin*, *sanat* 1261, the head of the believers ; the year 1261 (1845).

9. P. 151. To the north of Patani is Sanggora . . . It was in the fine numismatic collection of Dr. W. Freudenthal in London, that I discovered a coin of tin of this small State. It is round with a round hole, and, as is perfectly explicable from the above-mentioned notice of Dr. Medhurst, it is trilingual.[59] That which appears to be the principal side is occupied by a Chinese legend in four characters, which, according to my friend, Professor Hoffmann, should be read : *Tsai-tch'ing thung pao*, coin of Tsai-tch'ing. As however, we have very little means of determining the names which the Chinese give to foreign towns, we should be very uncertain where to find the locality of this Tsai-tch'ing without the help of the reverse. On the reverse is found the same name twice : in Malay in two words, above and below, *Negri Sanggora*, and to the right and left in Siamese characters *Song-khla*, which is [a corruption of] the name in use in that language.

10. P. 152. We ought also to speak of two coins, which, by their texture, seem to belong to the Malay Peninsula, but as to the exact locality of which, we have been unable to arrive at any determination. The first[60] is a piece of tin, 28 to 30 mill. in diameter, and weighing 4·96 to 6·80 grammes, with a square hole in the centre. The obverse bears the tittle—*khalifu' l-muminim*, the head of the believers. On the reverse there is nothing but the date—*sanat* 1256, year 1256 (1840-1)—which is clear. The rest shows certainly some Arabic signs, not Siamese as one would imagine after the preceding piece, but I cannot make out the meaning. On five examples, which I have been able to study, all bearing the same date, there is some difference in the signs, but they nevertheless seem to express the same words. On one specimen might almost be read *shahr*, which would recall to memory the name of the ancient capital of Siam, mentioned in the *Sajra Malayu* (*shahr al nawi* or rather, *shahr nawi*, the new city) ; but besides the fact that this nomenclature,

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[56] I do not know why M. Dulaurier (p. 44) has translated [this]:—"It takes 3880 of them to make a dollar." The corresponding Malay text is clear : *tek ribu dalapan ratas ampat pulah* [3840]. [Read : *tiga ribu dĕlapan ratus ĕmpet puloh*].

[57] *Suku*, a quarter, is also used for a quarter of a dollar, but here it must, I think, be considered the fourth of a *tampang*. [This argues a great local appreciation of the dollar, as the standard *tampang* is worth 1/10 dollar.]

[58] Plate XXIII. No. 254.

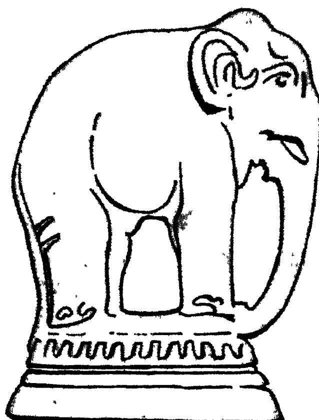
[59] Dr. Medhurst who visited Singora in 1828 found it divided into three parts, Chinese, Siamese and Malay. See Plate XXIV. No. 255.

[60] Plate XXIV. fig. 256.

OLD MALAY CURRENCY.

Burmese and Tenasserim Weights and Money.


1

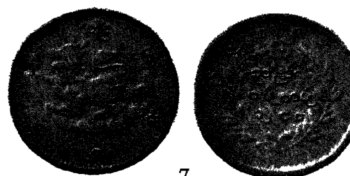

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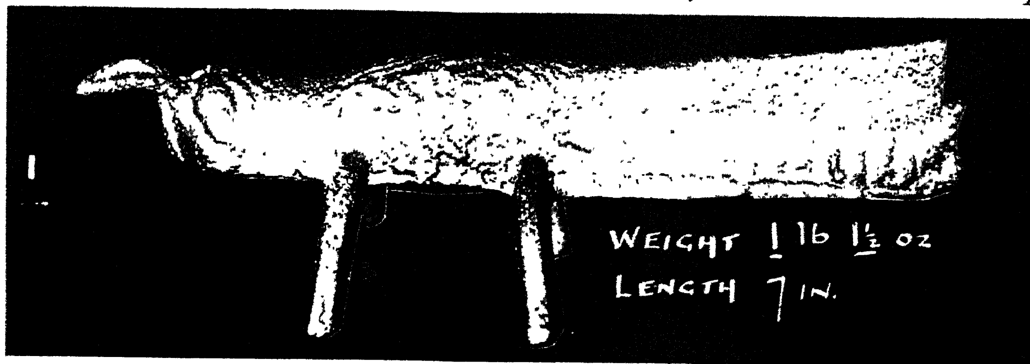

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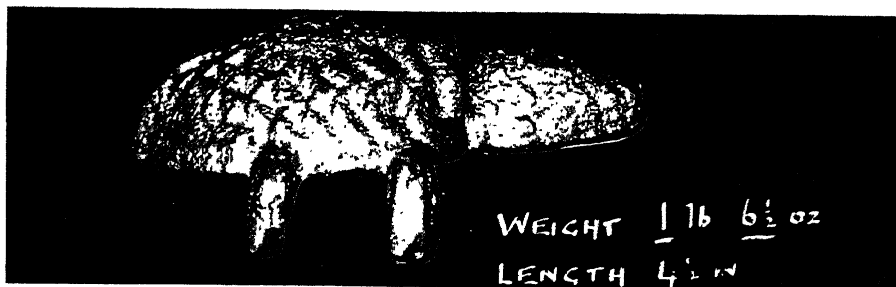

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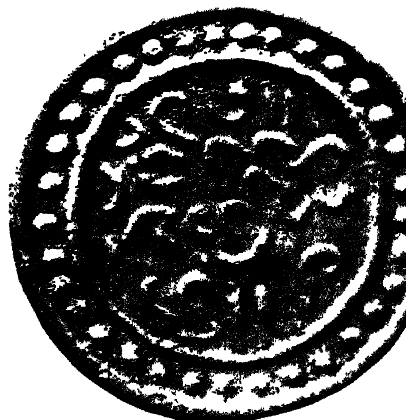


5

3 3







5

4 4



Fig. 1. Coin of Salamis in Cyprus.

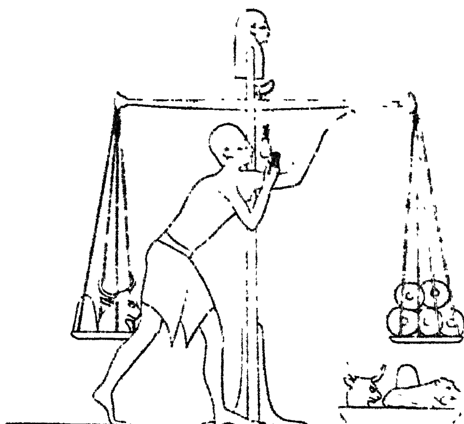


Fig. 2. Egyptian Wall Painting showing the Weighing of Ox and Ring Weights.

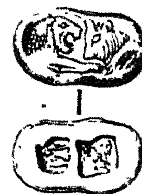
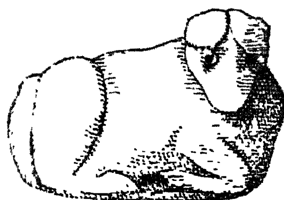


Fig. 3. Coin of Croesus



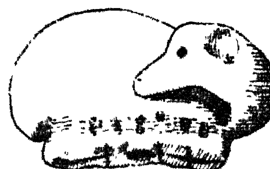


Fig. 4. Weights in the form of Sheep.

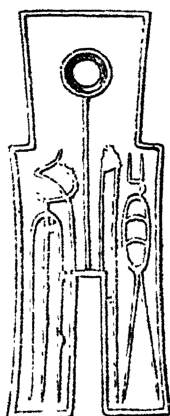


Fig. 5.
Chinese hoe-money.



A



B

Fig. 6. Assyrian half-shekel weight of the so-called Duck type.

A. Side view showing cuneiform symbol=½.
B. View from above.

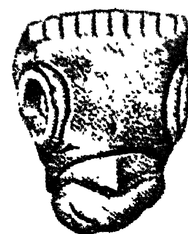


Fig. 7. Bull's-head Five-Sheke Weight.

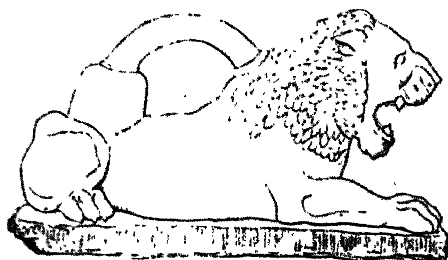


Fig. 8. Lion weight.



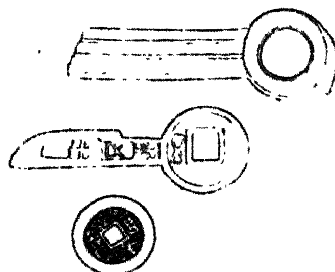


Fig. 9. Chinese Knife Money
(showing the evolution of the modern Chinese coins).

OLD MALAY CURRENCY.

Metal Ingots and Cash Tree

Fig. 1.

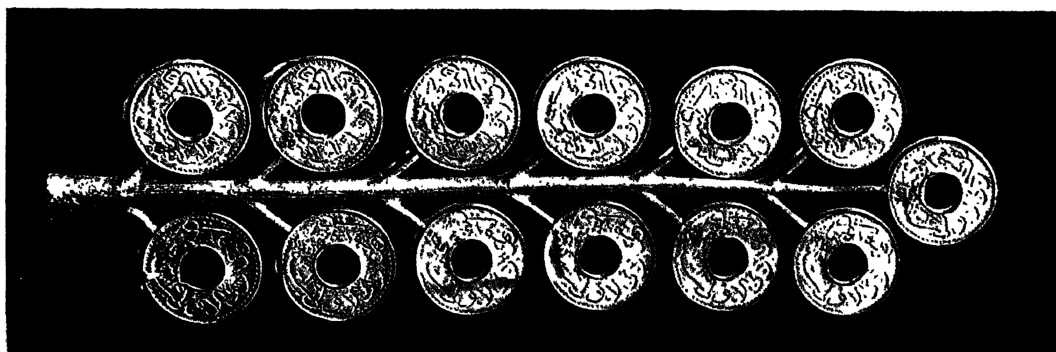


Fig. 2.

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taken from the Persian, belongs to a time somewhat distant, the last part (of the name) is not found on these coins. The letters *ba* might be taken for an indication of a year of the short cycle, as on a coin from Kedah; but the preceding signs give as little satisfactory sense as the following ones reading the Arabic word at the beginning as *shahr*, month. Further, it is very improbable that the last signs should be read *d-r-ba* for the Arabic *zarb* [struck], and that the first signs might indicate the well-known name Ligore or Lagor, Lakhon in Siamese. It therefore only remains for me to confess my ignorance.

11. P. 153. Again, MM. Netsche and van der Chijs have reproduced a tin coin (*De Munten van Nederlandisch Indie*, Batavia 1863, p. 172, No. 220), which I have never seen, but which, although somewhat obscure, seems to me to belong also to the Malay Peninsula. According to their description, it weighs about 5 gr. with a diameter of 32 mill., and has a hole of 13 mill. diameter. One side is blank, the other bears the inscription *in* [*ini*] *pitis Jering 1261.* [This inscription puzzled Millies and the others, writing about 1865 and earlier, but from the knowledge since gathered by Mr. Skeat *c.* 1893, the coin clearly reads as above:—this is a *pitis* (cash) of Jering, 1261:—1845. Plate XXIV. No. 257].

(*To be continued.*)

ON THE DATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

BY S. KUMAR,

Supdt. of the Reading Rooms, Imperial Library, Calcutta.

IN this *Journal* for July 1912, Prof. Nalinî Kânta Bhaṭṭaśâlî has contributed a paper on the date of Lakṣhmaṇasena, in which he has attempted to uphold Minhâj al-Dîn's story of the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad bin Bakhtyâr-i-Khâlji, with a view to controvert an opinion expressed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in a meeting of the Baṅgîya Sâhitya Parishad on the same subject.

The author of the paper having implicit confidence in Minhâj's statement says that a composition executed by an artist of some note has succeeded in stirring up the students of history of our country to examine the story in a critical way. The author should have been aware that the "fresh stir" was not created by the painting referred to by him, but that a note of disbelief had already been struck, and that an attempt at criticising the statement which the author accepts as unquestionably true was first made by the late Baṅkim Chandra Chaṭṭopâdhyâya.[1]

Mr. R. D. Banerji, whom Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî controverts, has already laid on the table of the Asiatic Society of Bengal the results of his investigation on the subject, which when published will perhaps yield the soundest arguments and go a great way to establish the historical validity of the statement alleged to have been made by Mr. Banerji. The object of the present note is to point out the fallacies, which are apparent in Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî's paper. "Every School boy" is aware no doubt of the daring deeds of the son of Bakhtyâr. But does this at all prove that the account is necessarily true? Our school books are not always well-chosen, and the authors, whose profession it is to get them up, do so anyhow, without taking much intelligent interest in their work.

About the four inscriptions which Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî has referred to, we have here only a few remarks to make. The name of the king mentioned in these inscriptions is Aśokachalladeva and not Aśokavalladeva, the reading which has been accepted by Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî. The name was first correctly read by Dr. Bhagawânlâl Indrajî, and was afterwards emended by Cunningham without much reason for doing so. If Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî referred to the inscriptions themselves, or had examined the impressions taken from them, he would have, no doubt, been convinced that the inscriptions, Nos. 2 and 4, on which Cunningham's emendation was based, could not be relied upon. They seem to be very carelessly incised and abound in orthographical errors, and, on a minute examination, it will be found that in these practically very little difference exists between *v* and *ch*.

[1] *Prabandhamâlâ.*

The trustworthiness of Minhâj's account, which Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî upholds, remains as much doubtful as it had been before he subscribed to it. The contemporary historians whom Minhâj takes as his authorities, with the singular exception of the author of *Tâj al-Mâsîr*, do not refer to Muḥammad bin Ba<u>kh</u>tyâr's raids in "Bângâlâ". Minhâj visited Bengal about forty years after the raids and collected his account of them from two old soldiers, Samsam al-Dîn, and his brother, Nizâm al-Dîn, who were said to have been in the raiding hordes.[2]

Their account was sure to be an exaggeration if not anything else, and little reliable on the ground that they even did not understand the language of the country, as is to be expected of the pioneer soldiers of a foreign raiding horde; their mistaking a *vihâra* for a fort and the Buddhist Śramaṇas for Hindu Brâhmaṇas[3] would perhaps be sufficient for us to determine how far their story could be relied on.

In order to magnify their own achievements, they fabricated the story which Minhâj records as true. It was even alleged that when Lakshmaṇasena was still in his mother's womb, his mother was hung legs upwards,[4] in order to prevent the birth of the child at an inauspicious moment. When the proper time arrived, she was released and gave birth to the child, the future La<u>kh</u>maṇiyâ, but the mother did not survive. Such treatment of a lady has not been heard of in the country during the last two thousand years. Moreover, had the mother been treated in the way which Minhâj relates, the survival of the child would have been a physical impossibility. The source from which such stories originated cannot have much value with regard to veracity. The fanatic superstition and zeal of the raiders stood in their way of getting at a clear understanding of the circumstances which presented themselves at the time, and rendered them quite incapable of making a sympathetic study of the manners and customs of the nation, which, owing to internal dissensions fell an easy prey to the invading hordes of foreign barbarians, who were neither more brave nor more civilised. The rude vandals of the frontier border-lands, whose civilisation was all to come, pulled down a superb edifice of refinement and culture by one sweep of their fanaticism. They had neither the time nor the capacity to understand the real cause of their success. They were blinded by their magnificient achievements in a country, which to them appeared to be the promised land—the land flowing with milk and honey. The treatment, which, according to Minhâj, was doled out to the mother of Lakshmaṇasena is unprecedented in India, and is only possible in a country where women are being regarded as mere commodities of trade and subject to the *waqf* of movables.

The next source of information, which the learned Professor makes much of, is the *Laghubhârata*. The traditions, as recorded in this work, might have been the prevailing traditions of the time, but with regard to their genuineness from an historical point of view, they should find acceptance with a heavy amount of discount. The work itself is a composition of the sixteenth century. The distance of time sufficiently warrants scepticism with regard to the historical nature of the traditions, on which Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî builds up his arguments.

The demise of the queen, the reported death of Vallâla, and the necessary installation of the new-born infant, Lakshmaṇa, are events too sad to be commemorated by the institution of a new era. Such commemoration is without any parallel in the world's history. The Nirvâṇa era, which is supposed to commemorate the death of Buddha, has a different interpretation with the pessimistic Buddhist. To him it typifies the total cessation of pains, an utter dissolution of the entity, "a consummation devoutly to be wished". In the case of the Hijira, we might say that Muḥammad's flight from Mecca to al-Madinah was the beginning of his success, and, hence, he had good reason to regard the date of his flight as auspicious and to perpetuate it in the memories of men by the inauguration of a new era.

[2] Minhâj: *Ṭabaqât-i-Nâṣirî*: Raverty's Trans., p. 552.

[3] *Ibid*, Raverty's Trans., p. 552.

[4] *Ibid*, Raverty's Trans., p. 555.

Mr. Banerji is perfectly right in rejecting the date of the first of the four Bodh-Gayâ inscriptions of Aśokachalladeva. When Hieuen Tsang visited India, there was a great divergence of opinions about the date of the Mahâparinirvâṇa. The Northern and the Southern Schools did not agree. The mention of the Mahâyâna and the Hevajra leads us to believe that the date might have been in accordance with the reckoning of the Northern School; but the mention of the "*Singhal-sthaviras*" in the inscription IV raises doubts, and the definiteness which Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî asserts is rendered cloudy. No chronologist in India, or anywhere else, during "the interval of the seven centuries," took up the question and tried to harmonise the widely divergent opinions of the north and the south and to fix even a conventional date for the starting point of the Nirvâṇa era. Even now the same difference in opinions exists, and we fail to see any reason in the dogmatic assertion of the learned Professor. A calculation based upon so unsure a ground cannot stand the test of critical study. The assurance of the Buddhist friends of Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî cannot obviate the difficulties that beset its acceptance as a datum for logical argument. He might convince himself of the existing difference in opinions by consulting Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras.*

The next question that has been raised by Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî centres round the expression *atîtarâjya.* The Sanskrit expression, as it is, directs our attention to the *râjya* itself, if not to its initial year. It is not equivalent to *râjye atîte sati,* which would refer to the end of a regnal period. The *pûrvanipâta* of *atîta* is what we think renders the explanation of Prof. Kielhorn more acceptable than the one proposed by Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî, and we understand it to mean that "although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakṣhmaṇasena, that reign itself was a thing of the past."[5] Prof. Kielhorn tried to harmonise the evidences of the Muḥammadan historians and those yielded by epigraphical studies and held that the so-called conquest of Bengal took place in the year 80 of Lakṣhmaṇasena era, although the reign itself was a thing of the past.

The question of a distinct era counted from the end of Lakṣhmaṇasena's reign is altogether a new one. If the king had been a very popular one, the end of his reign with the loss of his kingdom brought about by a foreign invasion, would be regarded rather as a calamity and would not be commemorated by the institution of a new era. The word that occurs in the old document referred to by Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî has not been correctly quoted. The word is *parganâti* and not *parganâtît.* We are at a loss to understand how he could misquote it. The reference is to p. 45 (and not p. 511) of Babu Jogîndra Nâth Gupta's *History of Vikrampur* (in Bengali). Before making any remark, we would draw the attention of the learned Professor to the language of the document. It is full of outlandish words and expressions, and was made out at the time when the languages of the courts of law in Bengal were Persian and Arabic. The word *parganâti* has perhaps no relationship with *atîta.* We should not like to risk any suggestion or improvise any correction as the learned Professor has done.

In the Madhâinagar copper plate grant,[6] it has been said that Lakṣhmaṇasena joined in an expedition against the Kaliṅgas when he was still a Kumâra (*Kaumâra keli*). This must have been when he was at least 20 years of age. Then, following up the datum of the grant, he must have been at least 22 years of age when he was called to the throne. If we accept the conclusions of Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî, king Lakṣhmaṇasena should have attained $22+80 = 102$ years when Muḥammad the son of Ba<u>kh</u>tyâr led his Turks into Nadiya. Prof. Kielhorn, as it appears from his *Synchronistic List of Northern India,*[7] had afterwards abandoned his theory of the conquest of Bengal, an interpretation which he proposed by bringing together the evidences of the Muḥammadan historians and those obtained by the study of inscriptions of the period.

Mr. D. R. Bhaṇḍârkar has pointed out that Mr. Nagendra Nâth Vasu has already set forth much of the matter which Prof. Bhaṭṭaśâlî dilates upon in his paper; and, by the way, it might be said that the conclusions of Mr. Vasu on the date of composition of *Dânasâgara* do not seem to us very

[5] *Ante,* XIX, p. 7, and p. 2, note 3. [6] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* for 1910. [7] *J. A.,* VIII.

well warranted. When we find that *ślokas* indicate the date of the composition in a manuscript, copies only of which are available, and also find that in some of them such *ślokas* are absent, the possibility of their being interpolated in the copies in which they are found generally comes to our mind, and such evidences should not be taken as conclusive enough to serve as data for further argumentation. With regard to the *Adbhutasâgara*, we may point out a similar variation in the existing copies of the work. The copy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal does not contain many *ślokas* which are reported to be present in the manuscript described by Sir Râmkrishṇa Gopâl Bhaṇḍârkar.

In conclusion, we are inclined to believe that Lakṣhmaṇasena was dead long before the raids described by Minhâj took place, and that A. D. 1119 or Saka 1041 is the approximate date of the death of Vallâlasena and the installation of Lakṣhmaṇasena. A new inscription lately discovered at Dacca by Mr. R. D. Banerji, which he has incorporated into his paper on Lakṣhmaṇasena read before the Asiatic Society, will conclusively prove the validity of our reasoning and hasten to a definite decision a yet undecided point in the history of Bengal.

INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN ARTIFICIAL POETRY.

BY G. BUHLER.

[Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M.A.; Poona.]

(Continued from p. 179.)

IV. The Girnâr inscription of the reign of Mahâkshatrapa Rudradâman.

The results obtained from the examination of Harisheṇa's *praśasti*, point to the provisional supposition that the *Kâvya* literature was in bloom, at least in the whole of the fourth century, and the works composed at that time, do not essentially differ from the samples of *Vaidarbhî rîti* preserved for us. Beyond this, we cannot go with the help of the Gupta inscriptions known to us up to this time. It, therefore, becomes necessary to consider the only great Sanskrit inscription, which can be, with certainty, placed in a considerably earlier age. It is the so-called Rudradâman inscription on the well-known rock on the way from Junâgaḍh-Girinagara to the present Girnâr, a holy mountain known as Ûrjayat or Ujjayanta in earlier times. This inscription would be more properly called 'the *praśasti* of the restoration of the Sudarśana lake, during the reign of Mahâkshatrapa Rudradâman.' Its age is pretty certainly fixed, in the first place, by the names of the king and the Kshatrapa Chashṭana, who is spoken of as Rudradâman's grandfather, and in the second place, by the date of the storm which shattered down the embankment of the Sudarśana lake. Chashṭana is no doubt rightly identified with the king Tiastanes, who, as Ptolemäus informs us, ruled in Ozene or Ujjayinî. The Greek name quite corresponds with the Indian name, not merely on the ground of other similar cases which occur and in which the Indian palatal sounds are represented by the Greek dentals with following *ia*,[45] but because even the Indian pronunciation of the palatals varies between *tśa* and *tya* as well as between *dźa* and *dya*, and we frequently hear of *tya* and *dya* as combinations with the sibilants.[46] The possibility that Ptolemäus could have meant any other Chashṭana than that of our inscription must be regarded as out of question, because the name occurs in no other dynasty, and even amongst the western Kshatrapas, it is only the grandfather of Rudradâman, who is so named. Thus, if we accept this identification of names and persons, it follows that Chashṭana must have reigned before 150 A.D. and further that his grandson Rudradâman can, in no case, be placed later than in the first half of the third century, probably even earlier. The settling of the date becomes even more accurate through the fact that the fixing of the beginning of the Gupta era in the year 318 or 319 makes entirely probable the view already maintained by Dr. Bhagvânlâl, Dr. Bhâû Dâjî, Dr. Bhaṇḍârkar and others, according to which the date of the inscription in question, *i.e.*, the year 72, refers to the

[45] Cf. Tiatoura-Chitor and Diamouna-Jamunâ.

[46] See the remarks on the reverse of the table of letters in my Guide to the elementary course of Sanskrit. I shall, in another place, furnish proof that the modern pronunciation of the Indian palatals is very old.

Saka era and thus corresponds to our year 150 or 151. This date is the first of a long series, which continues down to the year 310. Inscriptions[47] provide the following dates:—103 for Rudradâman's son Rudrasiṁha, 127 for Rudrasiṁha's son Rudrasena, and ?52 for Svâmî Rudrasena; while on the numerous coins are frequently represented almost all the decades between 100 and 310. During this long period, the successors of Chashṭana appear to have maintained their sovereignty over western India, except for a short interruption, and to have been in possession of Mâlwâ as well as the neighbouring provinces of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ. There is nothing in the inscriptions before us, that would admit the conclusion that their capital was ever removed from Ujjain further westwards. On the other hand, our inscription shows quite clearly that the residence of the prince lay outside of Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâṛ, as his officer Suviśâkha, according to l. 18, was governor of Ânarta[48] and Surâshṭra. The successors of the Kshatrapas, in the sovereignty over Mâlwâ and the whole of western India, were the Guptas, whose conquest of the former province falls before or in the Gupta year 82, *i.e.*, 400/1 or 401/2 A.D., as is shown by Mr. Fleet's No 3. Accordingly, it is to be expected that the last date of the Kshatrapas coming from Chashṭana's race can not lie far removed from the Gupta year 82. And this is actually the case, if the year 310 on the Kshatrapa coins is interpreted as a year of the Saka era. Then it corresponds to the year 388 or 389 A.D., and is removed only by eleven years from the year in which the conquest of Mâlwâ can have taken place at the latest. Though this very consideration is enough to commend the identification of the era used by the Kshatrapas with that of the Saka kings, there are still many other reasons of not less importance, which would confirm the same. The titles of Chashṭana are *râjan*, *Kshatrapa* or *Mahâkshatrapa*, and *svâmin*. The word *Kshatrapa* is, no doubt, as has been long ago asserted, an adaptation of the Persian *Kshatrapa* 'satrap.' Because, although we can look upon the word as a pure Sanskrit word and translate it by the protector of Kshatriyas, still such a title is entirely unknown to Sanskrit literature. *Kshatrapa* and its Prakrit substitute *Chhatrapa* or *Khatrapa* occur in the first place, in the coins and inscriptions of barbarous kings and their governors, who ruled over the north-western India.[49] Even Chashṭana as well as his father, the *Mahâkshatrapa* Ysamotika,[50] were foreigners, and there is no reason why we should believe that the title was fixed upon them in a different sense. If Chashṭana bears the title of *râjan* also, well, it might have been conferred upon him only as a mark of distinction for some special service. In a similar manner, the vassals named *sâmanta* or *mahâsâmanta*, as well as other high dignitaries received the title *mahârâja*[51] in the fifth, sixth and later centuries. Chashṭana's suzerain can have been just one of the Indo-Scythian kings whose might had overshadowed the whole of the north-western and western India, towards the close of the first century and in the second century, as is shown by the inscriptions and the accounts of the Greeks; and a still clearer proof of his connection with the north-west is provided by his coins, wherein his name is given in the Bactro-Pali or rather Kharoshṭrî[52] alphabet which is written from right to left. It is very probable that the descendants and the immediate successors of Chashṭana bore the same relation to the rulers of the Indo-Scythian kingdom as long as it was in existence. As for Rudradâman, in particular, I see a clear confession of his dependence in the expression (l. 15) *svayam-adhigata-Mahâkshatrapa-śabdena*,

[47] The three dated inscriptions are, that on the rock of Gunḍa, *ante*, Vol. X., p. 157, that on the pillar of Jasdan, *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234 ff. (in which, according to an impression of Mr. Dhruva's, the date is to be read as [*tri*]*yuttaraśate* 100[+]3), and one unpublished inscription on a pillar in Okhâmanḍal, of which I possess a sketch and a photograph. The view, that the era used by the western Kshatrapas is the Saka era, is found at first in the *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII. p. 243 ff., and is further developed in Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 19 ff. See also *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S. 1890, p. 639 ff. I have opposed the same in *Arch. Surv. West. India*, Vol. V., p. 73, while I believed that the beginning of the Gupta era fell in the second century p. Chr.

[48] Ânarta includes Northern Kâṭhiâwâṛ and northern Gujarât up to the Mahî.

[49] Notice specially the copper-plate on which the *Chhatrapa* Liaka Kusula appears by the side of the king Moga. In this case it is quite clear that Liaka was the Satrap of Moga.

[50] See *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 3. A very nicely preserved coin on which this name is very clearly readable, was shewn to me, some years ago, by Dr. Burgess. Dr. Bhagvânlâl reads the name as Ghsamotika.

[51] See Fleet, *Corpus inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 15 note.

[52] See Professor Terrien de la Conperie *Babylonian Record*, Vol. I., p. 60. Dr. Bhagvânlâl (*ante*, VIII. p. 258) has rightly recognized the historical significance of the use of this alphabet on Chashṭana's coins.

'by (Rudradâman) who had himself won the title *Mahâkshatrapa*'. According to my view,[53] the author means to say that Rudradâman did not inherit the title *Mahâkshatrapa* from his father or grandfather (although these possessed it), but that he had to win it by means of his special services and that he received it from his suzerain. To this interpretation I am specially led by the meaning of the very analogous phrase, *samadhigatapañchamahâśabda*, 'he who has won the five *mahâśabdas* (*i.e.*, either five great titles, or the right to have the royal music band to play)', which is used in a very large number of inscriptions, of *Sâmantas* or vassal-chiefs. Moreover, even supposing Rudradâman had made himself independent and had himself taken a title, it appears to me improbable that he should have chosen the title *Mahâkshatrapa*. In that case, he would have certainly named himself *mahârâja*, *râjarâja*, *râjâtirâja*, *or râjâdhirâja*, as the independent kings of the first and second centuries always did. Thus Chashṭana, in all probability was a dependent of some Indo-Scythian king, and it is, therefore, not possible that he should have founded a new era. He must have used the era of his suzerain, and the same must be supposed in connection with his grandson. If then, as I believe it must be assumed, this latter also bore the same relation to the Indo-Scythians, there can be no doubt regarding the interpretation of the date of the Girnâr *praśasti*.

According to this calculation, then, the destruction of the Sudarśana lake by the storm mentioned in our inscription falls in the year 150 or 151 A.D. The inscription itself, however, must have been written yet later, sometime towards the end of the first century of the Śaka era, *i.e.*, between 160 and 170 A.D., because it is said in lines 17-18 that the restoration of the dam was attended with great difficulties. Thus it is most conclusively proved that even during the second half of the second century, there was in existence a *Kâvya* literature. Although there is wanting a colophon which might have given us the exact character of the composition, still it can be easily seen that it contains a *gadyaṁ kâvyam* as such. Its style is similar to that of the prose part of Harisheṇa's *kâvya* in many respects and besides the use of *alaṁkâras*, there is an obvious effort on the part of the poet, to satisfy all the requirements prescribed for prose-composition by poetics. At the same time, however, it can not be denied that its worth is very considerably less than that of the *Allahâbâd praśasti*, and that its author did not by far possess the imagination and talent of Harisheṇa. The language itself which is, indeed, generally speaking, flowing and good shows several deviations from the usage of classical poets and even presents some actual mistakes. Thus in . . . . . *ne â garbhât* (*l.* 9) there is a wrong *saṃdhi* made. Among other offences against the rules of orthography prescribed by grammar are the frequent omission of *ch* before *chh* and the use of the *anusvâra* for *ñ* and *n*, in the body of words, as well as for *m* at the end,[54] though both these, it is true, are sanctioned by usage. Further, there is seen the influence of the Prakrit in the word *vîśaduttarâṇi* (*l.*7) which stands for *viṁśaduttarâṇi*. Even the form *viṁśat* used only on the analogy of *triṁśat* etc., is not classical, but belongs to the language of the epics and the *Purâṇas* as is shown by the quotations in the Petersburg Lexicon. If the long syllables in *nirvyâjam avajîtyâvajîtya* which are against rule, are not mere mistakes in writing of the scribe or of the stone-engraver,—although in the case of °*râgena* for °*râgeṇa*, no other assumption is possible,—then they must be regarded as only instances of the Prakrit influence. Because, the Prakrit dialects frequently represent *niḥ* by *nî* or *ṇî*, and the Gujarâtî *jît* 'conquest', and *jîtavuṁ* 'to conquer' agree with the long syllable in *avajîtya*. So also, the instrumental *patinâ* in l. 11 is formed against Pâṇini's rules, though it is in agreement with the usage of the Vedic and epic language. There is also a mistake of syntax in *anyatra saṁgrâmeshu* (*l.* 10), 'except in battles', which ought to be *anyatra saṁgrâmebhyaḥ*. So also the form *pratyâkhyâtâraṁbhaṁ* (l. 17) would be a worse mistake of syntax, as I believe in all probability it can not be regarded as an error in writing for *pratyâkhyâtâraṁbhe*.

[53] Dr. Bhagvânlâl thinks otherwise. According to him the idea is that Rudradâman freed himself from the yoke of a suzerain.

[54] The frequent avoidance of a *saṁdhi* is not incorrect, because, according to a well-known *kârikâ*, the *saṁdhi* depends upon *vivakshâ*, *i. e.*, it is to be made only if the words actually belong together. In the prose-inscriptions, the *saṁdhi* is usually not made where we would have a comma or a semi-colon.

Last of all, the phrase पर्ज्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायाम् (*l.* 5) is a hard nut to crack. No full-fledged classical poet has taken the liberty in this way. On the other hand, a similar phrase is more frequently met with in the epics.[55] The many points of similarity with the epics, which the language of the Girnâr *prśasti* exhibits, could have led to the supposition that the author had cultivated himself exclusively by the reading of epics and that a *kâvya* proper was not at all known to him. But such a supposition is contradicted, first of all, by the general impression, which his composition makes. Whoever reads it attentively would feel that in the matter of the development of the style, it shows a stage considerably in advance of the epics. Further the supposition is contradicted by several particulars leading to a similar conclusion, especially the important passage in l. 14, wherein the author enumerates the attributes of a good composition, prevalent in his time.

As for the points of affinity with the *kâvya* style proper, which this *praśasti* exhibits, it is to be first of all noticed that the author knew very well the canons laid down by Daṇḍin as common to all schools, according to which *ojas* or *samâsa-bhûyastva*, the frequency and length of compounds, is the principal feature of a prose composition. In the *praśasti* also, the compounds occur more frequently than single words, and the compounds themselves often exhibit a conspicuous length. Thus in the very first line, there is a broken compound which consists of nine words with twenty-three letters. Such compounds and others extending over between ten and twenty letters are numerous. Once in the description of the king (l. 11) the author goes to the extreme of having a compound word which comprises seventeen words with forty letters. As compared with Harisheṇa's performance, that of the Gujarâtî author is by all means a modest one, though the latter far surpasses what the epic poets have been capable of doing or have regarded as permissible. As with Harisheṇa, a rhythmical arrangement of letters in the longer compounds is often noticeable, as for instance, in ll. 6 and 9 ff. Hand in hand with the length and number of compounds, goes the length of the sentences. The *praśasti* apparently contains only five sentences with forty-nine *grantha*, of which the fourth sentence alone consists of more than twenty-three *grantha*. Harisheṇa surpasses the Gujarâtî writer, in this point also, and this is an important point, because his whole *kâvya*, though longer in extent, contains only one sentence. Of the *Śabdâlaṁkâras*, we have only the *Anuprâsa*, and the repetitions of parts of words, more seldom of whole words, as well as of single letters producing a similar sound, are very frequently met with. The specially remarkable instances are:—

गुरुभिरभ्यस्तान्मो रुद्रदाम्नो (l.4), सृष्टवृष्टिना (l.5), °प्रभृतीनां नदीनां (l.6), °प्रहरणवितरण° (l.10), °प्रकृतीनां° निषादादीनां (l.11), °कामविषयाणां विषयाणां (*ibid.*), °विधेयानां यौधेयानां (l.12), °हस्तोच्छ्र्याज्जितोर्जित° (l.13), °न्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां (*ibid.*), पारणधारण° (*ibid.*), दानमानावमान° (*ibid.*), °गद्यपद्य° (l.14), प्रमाणमानोन्मानो° (*ibid.*), °नाम्ना °दाम्ना °रुद्रदाम्ना (l.15), पौरजानपदं जनं (l.16), पौरजानपदजना° (l.18), आर्य्येणाहार्य्येण (l.19).

The *Varṇânuprâsas*, which do not strike us at first sight, but which are, nevertheless, not less characteristic, are specially numerous in गिरिशिखरतरुतटाट्टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना (l-6), where the repetitions of consonants and vowels are linked together very skilfully. Thus it is quite evident that the author took great troubles with these word-ornaments and attached great importance to them. His use of these far surpasses what the epic literature can present, and stands pretty on a level with what we have in Harisheṇa. The word यथार्थहस्तोच्छ्र्याज्जितोर्जितधर्मानुरागेण is just exactly in the *Kâvya* style, for the compound *arjitorjita* is very much favourite with the later court-poets. As for the *Arthâlaṁkâras*, our author uses them but very rarely. Thus there are only two *Upamâs* to be noted. In l. 1-2, it is said that the lake or rather the embankment thereof is *parvvata-pratispardḍhi*, 'resembling a spur of a mountain'; and in l. 8, the dried-up lake is spoken of as *maru-dhanva-kalpam*, 'resembling a sandy desert.' In the former instance, the expression *pratispardḍhi* is quite characteristic of the *Kâvya* style. We have an *Utpreksha* in the already mentioned passage, °पर्ज्जन्येन

[55] Cf. for instance, *Nala* XII, 28, केतुभूतमिवोत्थितम् and also the quotations under भूत in the Petersburg Lexicon.

एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायाम्° and a faint attempt at *Slesha* in l. 8, where it is said that the lake had become *atibhriśaṁ durdda*[*rśanam*]. For the rest, the author neglects the numerous opportunities which are offered to him, for instance, in the description of Rudradâman, of showing his skill in bringing out similarities. He relies more on the effect of a representation of facts marked with strong outlines, than on the conglomeration of more or less conventional figures of sense. It must be conceded that he succeeds quite well in individual descriptions, though he fails in the fineness of execution and the elaboration of details, which are found to be present in Harisheṇa. The passage in l. 3-7 describing the destruction of the lake, reads best notwithstanding many important lacunae. Freely rendered, the passage would read thus:—

'In the year seventy-two, 72, (in the reign)[56] of the king and great Satrap Rudradâman whose name is uttered by the worthy (praying for purity)—the son [of the king and great Satrap, Lord Jayadâman] . . . . . ., the grandson of the king and great Satrap, Lord Chashṭana—the mention of whose name brings purity—on the [fifth or fifteenth] day of the dark half of the month Mârgaśîrsha. . . . . a storm with great streaming showers, as it were, reduced the earth to one single ocean; the terribly augmented force of the Suvarṇasikatâ, the Palâśinî and other rivers of the mountain Ûrjayat broke through the dam . . . . although proper remedial measures were taken, the water agitated by the whirlwind which (raged) with fearful violence as if at the end of the world-age, and which shattered down mountain-peaks, trees, rocks, terraces, temple-turrets, gates, abodes and triumphal columns, the water scattered about and tore to pieces [the . . . . . . and] this (lake) [crammed] with stones, trees, bushes and circles of creepers that were thrown down, was broken up, down to the bottom of the stream.'

The small number of the *Arthâlaṁkâras* is richly counterbalanced by the fourth word in l. 14, which praises in all probability Rudradâman's skill in poesy, and contains, without question, the views of the author regarding the requirements of a good composition. Unfortunately, the word is mutilated. After स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालंकृतगद्यपद्य, eight letters have been obliterated, followed by न. The last letter shows that the expression ended with the instrumental of an a-stem. Immediately after गद्यगद्य, only the word काव्य can come, as it is absolutely necessary to complete the two expressions गद्य and पद्य. The remaining six letters should then have been a phrase like विधानप्रवीणे, रचनकुशले, रचननिरते or like (आ) स्वादननिरते. Now if we consider what is said of Rudradâman in l. 13, viz., that he had acquired great renown by the complete study, the preservation, the thorough understanding, and the skill in the use, of the great lores, such as grammar, politics, music and logic, we must go in for one of the first series of expressions proposed. Because, the practising of classical poetry is the natural complement of the cultivation of the abstruse *śâstras* in the case of the Paṇḍit, and both these have been very frequently extolled as the qualifications of Indian kings. These considerations make it quite probable that the compound in question, when completed should stand as स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालंकृतगद्यपद्य [काव्यविधानप्रवीणे] न Now, if we take the author on his word, and suppose that he is stating only facts, nothing more nor less, then it would follow that Rudradâman must have devoted himself to the cultivation of court poetry like Samudragupta and Harshavardhana. Then the passage in question would further prove that the *Kâvya* literature, in the second century, had been developed to such an extent, that even the grandson of a foreign Satrap like Chashṭana could not escape its influence. On the other hand, if it is thought more advisable to understand the expressions of praise in the *praśasti*, with a qualification, and to think that these expressions regardless of actual facts, only concern themselves with representing Rudradâman as an ideal Indian prince—as the poet's fancy was pleased to depict, even then we would be justified in drawing this conclusion at least, that during the second century it was the custom at Indian courts to occupy oneself

[56] The words printed within small brackets are necessary to complete the sense; while those in rectangular brackets are renderings of the broken words as restored by me.

with *kâvya*. Even this result in itself is of no little significance inasmuch as it proves that the invasions of the Scythians and other foreign races had extinguished the national art as little as the sciences. Further, as regards the characteristics which the *praśasti* prescribes for *gadya-padya* 'the compositions in prose and metrical form', it is to be noted, that they essentially agree with those which are given by Daṇḍin for the *Vaidarbhî rîti*, in accordance with an old tradition.[57] In *Kâvyâdarśa*, I. 41-42, we have :—

श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता ।
अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजःकान्तिसमाधयः ॥ ४१ ॥
इति वैदर्भमार्गस्य प्राणा दशगुणाः स्मृताः ।

Of these ten fundamental attributes of the Vaidarbhî style, the *praśasti* names three, *viz.*, *mâdhurya*, *kânti* and *udâratva*, and there is no reason why the *madhura* and *kânta* of the inscription should be interpreted otherwise than as *rasavat* 'full of sentiment,' and *sarvajagatkânta* 'pleasing to the whole world' or 'lovely', respectively. On the other hand, the word *udâra* 'elevated, grand' can scarcely have the meaning which Daṇḍin attributes to it, in *Kâvyâdarśa*, I. 76.[58] The preceding *śabda-samaya* specially enters into compound with *udâra* at any rate, and the expression *śâbdasamayodâra* can not but be translated as 'grand through the conventional (with poets) use of words.'[59] Accordingly, our author, following those who are referred to by Daṇḍin, as *kechit* (*Kâvy.* I. 79), means by *udâra*, that language in which are used proverbial words and attributes commended by poets, *e.g.*, *krîḍâsaraḥ*, *lîlâmbuja*, and similar words. A fourth characteristic mentioned by Daṇḍin, the *arthavyakti* 'clearness of meaning', can be easily recognized in the synonymous expression *sphuṭa* of the inscription. A fifth characteristic *ojas*, 'the force of expression' may probably be meant by the adjective *chitra* 'wonderful, exciting wonder.' In favour of this we can quote Bharata's definition (Chap. XVI) :—

समासवद्भिर्विविधैर्विचित्रैश्च पदैर्युतम् ।
सातु[साधु]स्वरैरुदारैश्च तदोजः परिकीर्त्यते ॥

Even in the epithet *laghu* which is wrongly rendered by translators as 'short', we may find hidden a reference to the sixth attribute of the Vaidarbha style. *Laghu* here, no doubt, means 'beautiful, pleasing' and it very possibly stands for *prasâda* or *sukumâratâ*, both of which are conducive to loveliness of composition. The last adjective *alaṁkṛita* leaves no doubt about the fact that the author of the *praśasti* was acquainted with some theory of *Alaṁkâras*. In accordance with the proposed filling up of the lacunae and the explanations offered so far, the whole clause may be thus rendered:—

'(by the king and the great Satrap Rudradâman) who [was expert in the composition of] prose and metrical *kâvyas*, which are easily intelligible, charming, full of sentiment, capable of awakening wonder, lovely, noble with the conventional use of words, embellished (with the prescribed figures of speech).' Thus, whatever we may say about Rudradâman busying himself with poesy—a fact which is very probable, though of course we can not be absolutely sure about it—so much is certain that the author of our *praśasti* lays on poets conditions very similar to those prescribed by Daṇḍin, that in the second century there must have been already in existence romances and other works in high prose as well as compositions in the Vaidarbha style, which in no way differed from the samples of classical composition preserved to us, and that there also existed an *Alaṁkâra-śâstra*.

(*To be continued.*)

[57] The same are mentioned in Bharata's *Nâṭyaśâstra*, ch. XVI :—

श्लेषः प्रसादः समता समाधिर्माधुर्यमोजः पदसौकुमार्यम् ।
अर्थस्य च व्यक्तिरुदारता च कान्तिश्च काव्यस्य गुणा दशैते ॥

[58] उत्कर्षवान्गुणः कश्चिद्यस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते ।
तदुदाराह्वयम् — — — — ॥

[59] Dr. Bhagvânlâl's translation, 'remarkable for grammatical correctness,' is not right for several reasons. 'Grammatical correctness' would be *śabdaśuddhatva*, and this quality does not make a composition *udâra*. Besides, the king's ability to write correctly is mentioned in l. 13. I explain *śabdasamayodâra* thus :—शब्देषु शब्दविषये यः कवीनां समयः संकेत आचारो वा तेन उदारम् ॥

BRAHMAN IMMIGRATION INTO SOUTHERN INDIA.

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(Continued from Vol. XLI, p. 232.)

From this the conclusion is irresistible that there was indeed an ancient Brâhmaṇ leader of that name, who led a colony of Brâhmaṇs into the South. What the motives were that led to the emigration, we cannot definitely ascertain. The Purâṇic account is that the Vindhyas began to grow higher and higher and obstruct the path of the Sun, that the Devas sought the help of the sage and requested him to humble the pride of the mountain; that while accordingly the sage approached, the mountain, being its *śishya* or disciple, made its obeisance by prostrating itself before him, and then the sage crossed it and enjoined it to remain in that posture until he returned—which event has not yet taken place and therefore the mountain has remained low until to-day. Certainly there must be some meaning in this otherwise palpably impossible myth. Agastya himself was one of the Ṛig-Vedic sages, but he was not included among the *Saptarishis* or the seven sages, though he as the latter has become one of the *gotrakâras, i.e.*, heads of the Brâhmaṇ families. The *Ṛigveda* plainly describes him as trying to introduce a cult somewhat opposed to the cult of Indra, which was the prevalent one, and, therefore, as meeting with some opposition. Tamil tradition also points to this split as the real cause of his southward march with all his following. Probably it was not Agastya himself of the *Ṛigveda* that made this southward march: a sort of *quasi*-eternity is given to the Vedic sages by the habit of calling the successive heads of the families or *gotras* by the names of the founders. Perhaps a descendant of the sage might have in later times led the southward march, when perhaps on account of the split in the camp, their continuance in the north had become intolerable. Perhaps, synchronous with that march, a depression of the Vindhyas took place due to seismic causes, which gave rise to the myths we have referred to. Geology owns the possibility of such subsidence and teaches that such subsidence may occur, due to undue volcanic activity, especially at the opposite side of the earth. A glance at the map shows us that about—20° lat.—70° long., the opposite point of the earth with respect to the Vindhyas, we have the Bolivian Andes with the powerful volcanoes of Sahama, Acancagua and so forth, and if in prehistoric times there was a terrible eruption of these volcanoes and this disturbance caused the subsidence of the mountain in India, we have precisely the state of things which the myth has obscurely represented as the prostration of the Vindhyas before Agastya. Some such extraordinary or apparently miraculous intervention is needed to make a dissenter like Agastya find favour with the Âryans of the north, who have not only included his name among the *gotrakâras*, but have also accepted his hymns in the *Ṛigveda* and thereby practically adopted his cult. When this event took place, it is not possible to determine. Tamil literature refers it to a remote age, *i.e.*, earlier than 5000 B. C. Considering the magnitude of the geologic changes with which the emigration was synchronous, there is indeed much to be said in favour of this tradition. The *Râmâyaṇa* also makes the southward march of Agastya long anterior to the events it narrates. Even before Srî-Râma's time, Agastya had been dwelling in a hermitage to the south of the Vindhyas about two *yojanas* from Pañchavaṭî, where he had made his temporary home; and he always seems to have acted as the pioneer in the southward march; for we find him go down further south at the time of the close of the Laṅkâ war. The Tamils locate his *âśrama* in Podiyam, a peak of the Tinnevelly Ghats, from which the Tâmraparṇî takes its source; and he is still thought to be living there. Moreover, Râvaṇa, Vâli, Sugrîva and other great epic heroes of the south are represented as children of Non-Âryan mothers by Âryan fathers. Perhaps before complete Âryanisation was effected, these hybrids, with the energy natural to the offspring of mixed union, and also with the atavism of barbarian nature, which is seen to follow such unions

as a natural consequence, began to trouble the Âryan settlers in the Daṇḍakâ forest. For the *Râmâyaṇa* says that for a long time before the advent of Râma the troubles from the Râkshasas—meaning thereby the aborigines of the south, had ceased; but only very recently they had begun again under the leadership of Mârîcha, Subâhu, Khara, Râvaṇa and others—all offspring of Non-Âryan mothers and Âryan fathers; Râvaṇa is even represented as a Brâhmaṇ and Sâmavedin—a descendant of Pulastya. Thus the first movement of the Brâhmaṇs towards the south seems to have been caused by a split in the faith, and the succeeding settlements were made afterwards by ascetics and lay-brothers, seeking solitude and calm for practising all the self-mortifications that they thought were necessary for gaining spiritual wealth. It was the combination of the two sets of circumstances that led to the slow Âryanisation of the south long before the rise of Buddhism, or the southward march of Jainism. Later on, after some advance was made in civilisation, emigration from other motives began also to take place; until at last about the 1st century A. D. we find that it was the South that became the seat of revived Brâhmanism. For the North had become almost Buddhistic, and powerful Scythian princes, like Kanishka, who had embraced Buddhism, were ruling in Kashmir, and the Sungas and the Ândhrabhṛityas in Magadha, and Persian Satraps like Rudradâman in Ujjain. Only Kanauj seems to have been still Hindu, but it was quite powerless then. The Kosalas had emigrated by that time to the south of the Vindhyas and had formed the Chalukyas, who later on founded in the 6th century A. D. the Chalukyan kingdom in the Mahârâshṭra country, after defeating Indra of the Raṭṭa or Râshṭrakûṭa family. Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi, one of the Ândhrabhṛityas, who ruled at Pratisṭhâna, is represented in the inscriptions, as having conferred on the Brâhmaṇs "the means of increasing their race and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes," whatever that may mean. Perhaps it was from his time that the downfall of Buddhism may be dated. For after this time we find a revival of Sanskrit literature and re-institution of sacrifices; and the long disused Aśvamedha is referred to as again having been performed by Pulakeśin and others. Even the satraps of Ujjain, who had apparently been given a place in the Hindu social system, took the Brâhmaṇs under their wings: for Ushavadatta, son-in-law of Nahapâna is represented as having fed thousands of Brâhmaṇs and, like Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi, given them "the means of increasing their race" (whatever that may mean). During the time of the Chalukyans, Brâhmanism seems to have completely regained its lost power; for it was then that the greatest Neo-Hindu teacher, Śrî-Śaṅkarâchârya made his appearance. Before his time, *Pûrvamîmâṁsâ* had been studied with great attention and famous writers like Prabhâkarasvâmî. Nandisvâmî and others lived and wrote during the reigns of the early Chalukyans; and as we have said elsewhere, Telugu and Kannada began to differentiate themselves about this time, giving rise to two distinct languages.

In the meanwhile Mayûraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba kingdom in Konkan in the 6th century A. D., introduced a colony of Brâhmaṇs from Ahikshetra in Rohilkhand, and when it was found that during the reign of his son these showed a tendency to go back to their old home, the king seems to have set a mark upon them by obliging them to wear their top-knot in a special fashion. These formed the Nambudris (நம்புதிரி-our masters) of the West coast—a class of Brâhmaṇs, who differ from the Brâhmaṇs of the East coast and of the Ândhra, Kannaḍa, and Tamil country in many particulars. These Brâhmaṇs slowly spread towards the south along the west coast and now inhabit the whole of the maritime country west of the Ghats as far down south as Trivandrum. It was the influence of these Kadambas that led to the subsequent differentiation of Malayâlam from Kannaḍa on the one hand and Tamil on the other. The Kûrgî and the Tulu from the links connecting it with the two elder numbers of the Dravidian group; but none of these importations altered the essential character of the first settlers in manners and customs: they have remained distinct. The earlier settlers had borrowed many of the manners of the Dravidians, among which may be named the institution of *tâli*-tying, the boring of the nose, the tying of the

tâlî and the presenting to the bride of the new *sari* by the husband's party prior to marriage called கூறை, are all Dravidian customs, symbolic of slavery or purchase and do not find any sanction in the sacerdotal formulæ of the *gṛihya* ritual in use among the Âryans. In all these respects the Nambudris seem to differ from the other southern Brâhmaṇs. So much was the South favoured by the colonization of the Brâhmaṇs before the 6th century that the *Purâṇas*, that seem chiefly compiled during the early Chalukyan kings, went to the length of prophesying that in future the only refuge of Brâhmanism would be the extreme south of the Peninsula, in the basin of the Tâmraparṇî. For they shrewdly found out how in the North, subjected to foreign inroads and irruptions from without, there was not much chance of their keeping either their blood or their religion pure, and they with one voice declared :—

कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति नारायणपरायणाः ।
क्वचित्क्वचिन्महाराज द्रमिडेषु च भूरिशः ॥
ताम्रपर्णी नदी यत्र कृतमाला पयस्विनी ।
कावेरी च महाभागा etc. etc. *Bhâg.*

Nor were their apprehensions long allowed to remain unconfirmed; the worst sort of disaster soon overtook them, when, early in the 8th century A. D. (711 A. D.), the relentless iconoclastic Muhammadan storm burst upon the land. It was Gujarât, that first suffered from the outburst. The Bhâgavata *Sampradâyins*—worshippers of Kṛishṇa, who formed the bulk of the population of Gujarât, Muttra and the north-west generally, soon felt the pressure of the times and the wisest among them migrated to the south and peopled the Telugu, Kannada and Tamil kingdoms. In the 9th and the 10th centuries their numbers increased when the Muhammadan incursions became more frequent and more threatening. It was these that brought into the South the Renaissance literature of the North, the product of more recent times, made during the times of king Bhoja of Dhârâ and the Guptas of Ujjain and Pâṭaliputra and Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

The earlier emigrants had brought but the *Mîmâṁsâ*, the Epics and the *Sûtras*. It is these latter that brought Logic, Grammar and *Belles-lettres* in general, and gave an impetus to learning in the South. The 10th and the 11th centuries formed the Augustan period of Dravidian literature, alike in the Telugu, Tamiḷ and Kannaḍa lands. The chief impetus for this magnificient activity was given by the new-coming Âryan settlers. So much did Râja-râja, the powerful Choḷa king at Kâñchî, recognize the value of these new comers that he defended them against the attacks of his aunt Kunda-Avvai, who remonstrated with him for showing favour to the culture of the North in preference to his own Tamiḷ. The Śrîvaishṇava revival in the 11th century A. D. in the South was only an episode in the literary culture that came with this latest emigration. Śrî-Râmânuja himself was directly related to Saint Âḷavandâr, grandson of Nâthamuni. In all likelihood Nâthamuni's father or grandfather was one of the pioneers of these latest settlers. If we examine the account given of the way in which these behaved towards each other, though settled in far off places like Kâñchî, Śrîrangam, Madura and so forth, we are bound to conclude that they belonged to a closely-knit sept, and that they could be easily marked off from the rest of the Brâhmaṇ population among whom they had settled; the real name of the Saint Âḷavandâr, *i. e.*, the name Yamunai-thuraivar (the sage of the Jumna) itself tells us how new these settlers must have been in their new homes at the time of the sage. Even to this day these are distinguished from the other Brâhmaṇs of the South in several respects and go generally by the name of Vaḍamas, meaning North-country men. It was chiefly from this community that the bulk of the Śrîvaishṇava conversions were made. Even in the Kannaḍa and Telugu country, it is the Bhâgavata *Sampradâyins* that easily passed into the Śrîvaishṇava or the Mâdhva fold. One distinguishing feature of these *Sampradâyins* is their partiality for Vishṇu in his incarnation of Kṛishṇa. The *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa*, which seems to have been compiled by one of their number

develops this point of view of the community. *Śrî-Bhâgavata* is prized alike by the Śrîvaishṇavas, the Mâdhvas and the *Smârta* Bhâgavata *Sampradâyins* and Vaḍamas. That these latter form the latest addition to the Brâhmaṇ population in the extreme south of the Peninsula is borne out also by a very curious custom. All the *Smârta* Drâviḍa Brâhmaṇ women, together with a few of the left-hand section of the Śûdras, tie their *sâris* in a peculiar fashion. The upper end of the *sâri* is brought under the left shoulder over the right arm round the back and thrown over the left shoulder. This is precisely the manner of the costume of Greek ladies after 450 B. C. known as the *himation*. It was also the old mode of dress of the Âryan Brâhmaṇs before they entered India. It is the mode in use among the Persians and the Muhammadans. Once upon a time it was precisely the way in which the upper garment was worn by the Âryan males also. But there seems to have come a change in the mode of the male dress somewhere about the time when the Âryans settled in India. The *yajñopavîta* which the Brâhmaṇ wears is only a symbolic representation of his mode of dress. Much as the *yajñopavîta*, the sacred thread, is prized by the Brâhmaṇ of nowadays, there seems to be nothing in the ritual or the *mantras* that are used during the *upanayana* ceremony to uphold the great value set upon it. That it is nothing but a symbolic representation of the upper garment will be patent to every one who considers the origin of the mode of wearing it as given in the *Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa*.

अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय दक्षिणं बाहमुद्धरतेऽवधत्ते सव्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतं । एतदेव विपरीतं प्राचीनावीतं ॥ etc.

'Skin or cloth worn towards the right, round the body so as to go under the right shoulder and above the left is called यज्ञोपवित, the mode of dress in the service of gods; the opposite mode is called *prâchînâvîta*.'

The words उपवित and प्राचीनावित indicate in what sense they might have been first used. प्राचीनावित means the ancient mode of dressing; उपवित is the recent mode of dressing, both derived from *vye* to weave. Later on the sacred thread with a bit of deer skin tied to it has come to symbolize this mode of dress. That *prâchînâvîta* means the old mode of dress is borne out by the fact that funeral ceremonies are enjoined to be performed, the performer being dressed in that fashion, agreeably to the primitive notion that the sacrificer must dress himself like the god or the spirit he worships. Yamavaivasvata, being the old ancestor, who is worshipped in funeral ceremonies, the old mode of dressing is recommended. But in other cases the *upavîta*, the new mode. A metaphysical reason is assigned in the Veda itself for the change of dress, *viz.*, that the Devas and the Asuras performed a sacrifice, the Devas dressing in the प्रसृति fashion, *i.e.*, in the left to right fashion we have described and the Asuras in the other mode; and the Devas succeeded in gaining heaven while the Asuras were defeated and dispersed on all sides on account of the अप्रसृति fashion they had adopted. Probably this refers to the Âryan ancestors in their new colonies following nature, where all motion is seen to take place from left to right. For, finding such a mode of dress among the non-Âryan dwellers in the soil, they seem to have adopted it as a part of their scheme of following nature, which included the taking of such of the non-Âryan customs under their patronage as would help them in assimilating them easily and thereby strengthening their stock. While the male population easily adopted the change, the conservative female population perhaps remained averse to it for a long time. It was probably at this stage that the Dravidian Brâhmaṇs first migrated to the South. For while their ladies, *i.e.*, those of the *Smârtas* of Tamil-land preserve this old habit, the ladies of the later settlers have adopted the new orthodox fashion completely. Here is an evidence of a very curious but convincing kind for the very early settlement of the Tamiḷ land by Brâhmaṇs, long before perhaps the Telugu country itself was occupied by them. For we know that the Karṇâṭaka and Telingaṇa Brâhmaṇ ladies adopt the प्रसृति mode. The whole subject seems to be very interesting, and is deeply connected with the distinction of right hand and left hand

factions that used until recently to disturb the peace of Tamil villages, and of the Phanas in the Kannaḍa districts.

At an early stage in the progress of this paper I asked the late Mr. Venkayya if he could throw some light on the solution of the problem I have taken up. I must, in justice to him, quote the letter he was good enough to send me from his camp at Vijayânagaram. He wrote:—"As I have not got all the books of reference, I am unable to give you a complete list of all inscriptions which contain grants of land to Brâhmaṇs. I suppose you know that the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, *viz.*, Mayûraśarmâ, was a Brâhmaṇ. His date is not definitely ascertained. But Dr. Fleet assigns the Kadambas to the 6th century A. D. As regards Pallava inscriptions, I would invite your attention to three copper plates, *viz.*, Mayidavola plates of 'Sivaskandavarman (*Epigraphica Indica*), Kadamba plates of Jayavarman and the Hirahadagalli-plates of 'Sivaskandavarman. From the language and phraseology of these inscriptions, Dr. Hultzsch has concluded that they cannot be very distant, in point of time, from the reign of Gotamîputra 'Sâtakarṇi, who reigned about the middle of the 2nd century A. D. These and similar grants which Dr. Fleet has noticed show that the Brâhmaṇs had immigrated into Koṇjîvaram long before A. D. 600. As regards Western India we have evidence to prove that there was a large colony of Brâhmaṇs at Nâsik already in the 2nd century A. D. while the Western Chalukya king, Kîrtivarman I, is said to have made a grant to Brâhmaṇs in A. D. 578. No Chola or Pâṇḍya records prior to A. D. 600 are known. But the presence of Brâhmaṇs in Konjîvaram during the 2nd or 3rd century may be adduced as evidence to show that they might have advanced farther south. This information is perhaps quite meagre for your purposes." Thus wrote Mr. Venkayya; yes, meagre enough, as I have said in the beginning of this paper if we have to depend solely on the evidence of inscriptions. But we have seen what other sources of information we have regarding such points. Sanskrit literature and Tamiḷ literature might be used conjointly in fixing the chronology or other points of Indian History; for these two together will be seen to act like a *vernier* to definitely fix many an otherwise doubtful point.

It will thus be seen that the Âryan migration to the South was part of the scheme of Providence unfolded during a long interval of time by divine agencies apparently working with diverse, and oft times with cross, purposes. It was part of the large scheme whereby a moral and intellectual conquest of the whole of India was effected and the new-comer Âryan was blended with the native Dravidian, tending to produce a homogeneous population. Thus the method followed by the old Âryans was not to substitute the white man for the dark-skinned people—the method which is universally practised by the present-day civilizing agency with its cry of "White-man's burden" and "Imperialism". In those days Brâhmaṇ missionaries of a different kind pioneered indeed and overran unsettled tracts and devoted their energies to the conversation of the heathen. But these missionary settlements, except in very early times, never led to the spreading of the sword in their wake, as has often happened in these afterdays of European colonization. "It was by absorption rather than by annihilation that Brâhmanism triumphed", says Mr. Crooke, the Bengal civilian-historian of the old North-West provinces. "We hear", says he, "of none of the persecution, none of the iconoclasm which characterized the Musalman inroad. A fitting home was found in the Brâhmaṇ pantheon for the popular village deities, the gods of fear and death of the indigenous faith. Vishṇu by his successive incarnation has been made the vehicle for conciliating the tribal gods or *totems* of tribes now well within the fold of Hinduism". Thus the slow upheaval was going on and under the leadership of liberal teachers like 'Saṅkara and Râmânuja, the band was being removed from the eyes and hearts of the people, when it pleased God to throw open the country for the inroads of more powerful foreigners.

NOTE OF THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN.

BY SIR DR. R. G. BHANDARKAR, K. C. I. E., &c.; POONA.

IN my article on the epoch of the Gupta era published in *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII., I have stated, (p. 92) "the date 493 occurring in that (Mandasor) inscription is referred to the event of the Gaṇasthiti of the Mâlavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know." The impression of a new inscription recently discovered at Mandasor, prepared by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Archaeological department and shown to me by him, enables me to make a contribution towards an elucidation of the point. The verse giving the date is thus worded :—

श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते ।
एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ॥

The translation is :—"the excellent quaternion of hundreds of years increased by sixty-one laid down authoritatively by the Mâlava-gaṇa and named *Kṛita* having arrived." The word *âmnâta* means 'laid down,'—authoritatively of course,—since what is *âmnâta* is to be treated with respect and scrupulously followed. In समाम्नाय: समाम्नात: the sense is: the *Samâmnâya* (*Nighaṇṭus* or thesaurii) has been laid down (*Nirukta* I, 1). Similarly we are told in I, 20, that the later *Ṛishis samâmnâsishuḥ, i. e.*, laid down authoritatively or composed this work, and the Vedas and the subordinate treatises. In साक्षाच्चोभयाम्नानात् (*Vedântasûtra* I, 4, 25) *âmnâta* has the same sense. In the present case therefore the sense is: the year 461 has arrived which has been laid down authoritatively by the *Gaṇa* of the Mâlavas. This authoritative laying down cannot be predicated of this one year only but of all previous and subsequent years. If these years were laid down by the *Gaṇa*, they must either be so by their having composed a long list or directed that the years following a certain event should be ordinally numbered. Since a list must go on *ad infinitum, i. e.*, be interminable, the former supposition cannot be accepted. The *gaṇa* of the Mâlavas, therefore, must be supposed to have directed the use of an era beginning with a certain specific event. What must be the specific event? Light is thrown on this point by the following verse occurring in Yaśodharman's inscription at Mandasor :—

पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेष्वेकान्ननवतिसहितेषु ।
मालवगणस्थितिवशात् कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥

"Five hundred and eighty-nine years written down for the purpose of knowing the time in consequence (ablative) of the moment [moving cause or impelling force (*vaśa*)] of the condition as a *gaṇa* or compact political body of the Mâlavas having elapsed." That the word *vaśa* should be understood as the moment or impelling cause is confirmed by the manner in which the date is given in Bandhuvarman's Mandasor inscription. The words are :—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानाम्..................... ॥

The sense is: "four hundred and ninety-three years having elapsed since the condition (*i. e.*, formation) of the Mâlavas as a *gaṇa*." *Gaṇasthityâ* is to be taken as an ablative, the *visarga* having been dropped in consequence of the following soft consonant. This then was an era, the impelling cause of which was the *sthiti* of the Mâlavas as a *gaṇa*, that is, it was the era of the formation of the Mâlavas as a *gaṇa, i. e.*, their forming a body corporate or body politic.

The Mâlavas were originally a tribe which followed the occupation of fighting. They were soldiers by profession, and could enter any body's service as such, and did not form a *gaṇa* or an incorporated society for political and other purposes. Yâjñavalkya, speaking of a person who takes away the wealth of a *gaṇa*, necessarily implies that a *gaṇa* is a corporate community with common property and common interest (II, 187). Occurring side by side in *ibid*, II, 192 with *śreṇi* a guild, and *naigama* or a body of merchants trading with foreign countries, *gaṇa* must mean a body corporate of persons following the same occupation such as that of fighting (*Vijñâneśvara* and *Aparârka*). I translate *gaṇasthiti* as existence or condition as a *gaṇa*. It should be taken as a *Karmadhâraya* or oppositional compound (गणश्चासौ स्थितिश्च *i. e.* गणात्मिका *or* गणरूपा स्थिति:). It cannot be taken as गणस्य स्थिति: For in Bandhuvarman's inscription the expression मालवानां गणस्थिति: would in that case involve what is called *Ekadeśi-anvaya* or the latter part would be a *sâpeksha* compound, *i. e., Mâlavânâm* would have to be connected with *gaṇa, i. e.*, the first or subordinate part of the following compound and not with *sthiti* the principal part, as it should be. When we take the compound as a *Karmadhâraya, Mâlavânâm* is to be connected with *sthiti* which is the principal noun as qualified by the word *gaṇa*. A *gaṇa* or a corporate and poli-

tical union the Mâlavas constituted in B. C. 56 and laid down authoritatively (*âmnâta*) that that event should be commemorated by making it the epoch of an era. I now proceed to show by direct evidence what the condition of the Mâlavas was in ancient times and how it changed subsequently as indicated by the inscriptions we have gone over.

In an article in this *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 23, I have stated that Alexander the Great met in central and lower Punjab two tribes of warriors named Malii and Oxydrakæ. From Pâṇini's *sûtra* V, 3,114 and from the instances given by his commentators it appears that in the Punjab there existed in ancient times two tribes of the names of Mâlavas and Kshudrukas who are called *âyudhajîvins*, *i. e.*, sustaining themselves by the use of warlike weapons, in other words, who followed a soldierly profession. Under the *sûtra* IV, 2, 45 Patañjali discusses why Kshudraka and Mâlava are included in the group "Khaṇḍikâ" and others and in the course of the discussion he and the *Kâśikâ* mention that these two tribes belong to the Kshatriya order—he, impliedly, and *Kâśikâ*, expressly. Since the two names occur in the group and as it is reasonable to suppose that the first three words of a group at least come down from Pâṇini himself Kshudrakas and Mâlavakas were known to Pâṇini himself.

The Mâlavas are mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* also sometimes among northern peoples (II, 32, 7. III, 51, 26); and sometimes among southern, with Dâkshiṇâtyas and Âvantyas (VI, 87, 6-7). It also mentions westerly (*pratîchya*) and northerly (*udîchya*) Mâlavas (VII, 7, 15; VI, 106, 7). Varâhamihira too places the Mâlavas among the northern peoples inhabiting the Punjab (*Bṛi. S.* 14, 27). In speaking of a man of the name of Mâlavya he represents him to be ruling over Mâlava, Bharukachchha, Surâshṭra, etc. (*Bṛi. S.* 69, 10-12); so that the Mâlava country is here alluded to as occupying the same position as it does in modern times. Kâlidâsa in his *Meghadûta* carries his cloud messenger over the country now named Mâlwâ but does not give that name; and mentions Daśârṇas, Vidiśâ, Avantis, Ujjayinî, and Daśapura. So that it is clear that according to these authorities the Mâlavas in ancient times lived in the north, that is, in the Punjab and that they subsequently migrated southwards. While in the Punjab they were simply *âyudhajîvins* or professional soldiers and do not seem to have formed a political union. Their migration to the south and settlement in the region just to the north of the present Mâlwâ in the modern state of Jaipur is evidenced by a very large number of coins found at Nâgar near Tonk. Most of these bear the legend *Mâlavânâm jaya* and some *Mâlavagaṇasya jaya*. The very fact that coins were issued proclaiming the triumph of the Mâlavas or the Mâlava-gaṇa shows that at the time when they were issued the Mâlavas had already constituted themselves into a political unit with a regular system of government. That system appears to have been republican and not monarchical; since the legends on the coins bear the name of the tribe and its *gaṇa*. Probably afterwards the names of the leaders of the Republic were engraved on the money that was issued and perhaps in the course of time the Republic was succeeded by a Monarchy. The Mâlavas gradually moved southwards and gave their name to the whole country now called Mâlwâ. Another instance of a race moving from the south to the north and giving their name to the countries they occupied from time to time is that of the Gûrjaras. They first settled in Punjab and a district of that Province is called Gujarâta to this day. Then they migrated southwards by western Râjaputânâ which was formerly called Gûrjaratrâ or the protector of the Gûrjaras. This name, however, that part of the country soon lost, and in the form of Gujarât it was transferred to a southern province which is now called by that name.

The years of the era founded by the Mâlava republican body had the name *Kṛita* given to them according to the new inscription and there are two dates at least in which the years are given with the epithet *Kṛiteshu* prefixed to them. In the absence of any specific information we can only suppose that they were called *Kṛita*, because they were "made or prepared" for marking dates by the Mâlavâ government.

KUMARILA'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH TAMIL

BY P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M. A.; VIZAGAPATAM.

Burnell has quoted, *ante*, Vol. I. p. 310, a passage from the *Tantra-Vârttika* of Kumârila-Bhaṭṭa, beginning with the word *Ândhra-Drâviḍa-bhâshâyâm*; and, being puzzled by the singular locative termination, has remarked that the phrase is a "vague term by which the Tamil language is mentioned." Dr. Sten Konow in p. 277 of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV takes the phrase to describe "the language of the Ândhras (*i, e.*, Telugu) and *Draviḍas* (*i. e.*

Tamilians)." He remarks that *Andhra-Drâviḍa-bhâshâ* was Kumârila's name for the "Dravidian family" of languages and translates the same word in page 284 by "the speech of the Ândhras and the Draviḍas" (shortening *drâviḍa* into Draviḍas, it is not known why). The singular suffix is explained by Dr. Konow as denoting "a difference of dialect, which is by no means certain," and, if true, he adds that the "Kanarese and Tamil would be included in the *drâviḍa-bhâshâ*, as against Telugu, the *ândhrabhâshâ*." All this is wasted ingenuity, for both in the printed text of the *Tantra-Vârttika* and in the MS. copy (in Telugu script) used by Dr. Ganganath Jha, the translator of the *Tantra-Vârttika*, the reading is *atha drâviḍâdibhâshâyâm*.

The whole passage as printed by Burnell, is full of errors and unauthorized alterations by a Tamil copyist; I therefore transcribe it below :-

Tad-yathâ, Drâviḍâdi-bhâshâyâm-eva tâvad-vyañjanânta-bhâshâ-padeshu svarânta-vibhakti-strî-pratyayâdi-kalpanâbhiḥ sva-bhâshânurûpân-arthân pratipadyamânâḥ driśyante. Tad-yathâ, odanam chor ity-ukte chora-pada-vâchyam kalpayanti. Panthânam atar ity-ukte atara iti kalpayitvâ âhuḥ, "Satyam, dustaratvât, atara eva panthâ," iti. Tathâ pâp-śabdam pakârântam sarpa-vachanam ; akârântam kalpayitvâ, "Satyam, pâpa eva asau," iti vadanti. Evam mâl-śabdam strî-vachanam mâlâ iti kalpayitvâ, "Satyam," iti âhuḥ. Vair-śabdam cha rephântam udara-vachanam vairi-śabdena pratyâmnâyam vadanti, "Satyam, sarvasya kshudhitasya akârye pravartanât udaram vairi-kârye pravartate," iti. Tad-yadâ Draviḍâdi-bhâshayâm îdriśi svachchhandakalpanâ tadâ Pârasî-Barbara-Yavana-Raumakâdi-bhâshâsu kim vikalpya kim pratipatsyante iti na vidmaḥ.

The passage occurs in Kumârila's discussion of *Mîmâṁsâ-sûtra* I. *iii*. 9 *choditam tu pratîyeta avirodhât pramâṇena*. This *sûtra* ordains that words borrowed from *mlechchha* languages and used in the Veda, ought to be understood in the sense they have in the *mlechchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *Nirukta*. Sabara gives four such words in illustration, *pika*, cuckoo; *nema*, half; *tâmarasa*, lotus and *sata*, a hundred-holed, round, wooden bowl—these words, having been borrowed, according to *Mîmâṁsa* tradition, by the Vedic Ṛishis from *mlechchha* tongues. Discussing this question further, Kumârila uses the opportunity for airing his knowledge of five words from the *Mlechchha* tongue, Tamil, which he, no doubt, had casually picked up from some Tamil man. So he says that when the Aryas hear *mlechchha* words, they add to or drop from them some sounds and make them resemble Sanskrit words, though not necessarily of the same import. "Thus in the Drâviḍa, etc., language, where words end in a consonant, (the Aryas) add a vowel, a case inflection, or a feminine suffix and make them resemble significant words of their own language. Thus when food is called *chor*, they turn it into *chora*; when a road is called *atar*, they turn it into *atara* and say, 'true, a road is *atara*, because it is *dustara*, difficult to cross'. Thus they add *a* to the word *pâp* ending in *p* and meaning a snake, and say, 'true, it is a sinful being.' They turn the word *mâl* meaning a woman into *mâlâ*, and say, it is so.' They substitute the word *vairi* in place of the word *vair*, ending in *r* and meaning stomach, and say, 'yes, as all hungry people do wrong deeds, the stomach undertakes to do wrong (*vairi*) actions.' When such changes are freely made in the Drâviḍa, etc., language, what changes can be made in Persian Barbara, Greek, Latin and other languages, and what words can be got thereby, I do not know."

It is to be noted that Kumârila misquotes four of the five Tamil words he gives. Three out of the five do *not* in Tamil end in a consonant, but in *u*, and Kumarila clips the final short vowel as North Indians do in speaking Sanskrit words and imagines his mutilated form to be the Tamil form. Besides he drops the nasal of the word for snake, perhaps for fitting the word to the point to be illustrated. The Tamil words are *choṟu* more properly *śoṟu*, *pâmbu*, *vayiṟu*, the final vowel in each case being *u* made with the lips unrounded. By the word *Mâl*, said to mean woman. Kumârila perhaps means Tamil *ammâḷ*, woman. Perhaps he heard women called *Sîtammâḷ*, *Maṅgammâḷ*, etc., and broke them up into *Sîtâ+mâḷ*, *Maṅgâ+mâḷ* and thus arrived at the word *mâl*. The only word Kumârila quotes correctly is *atar*, more properly, *adar*, a word not now used in Tamil speech, so far as I know, except perhaps in some dialect unknown to me. From a Tamil dictionary, I learn, it means 'way,' and *adarkôḷ* means highway robbery. It is curious that the only word Kumârila gives in a correct form is an obsolete word.

The misreadings of Burnell's copy are also interesting. The copyist was, no doubt, a Tamil man for, not knowing the word *atar*, he boldly substituted *naḍai*, and has thus turned the remark about *atara* into nonsense; and not being able to trace Kumârila's *mâl*, he changed it into *âḷ*, a man.

I am not able to explain the *âdi* in Kumârila's *Drâviḍâdi-bhâshâ*. Probably it is an expletive meaning nothing.

THE REAL AUTHOR OF JAYAMANGALA, A COMMENTARY ON VATSYAYANA'S KAMASUTRA.

BY PANDIT CHANDRADHAR GULERI, B. A.; AJMER.

In Mahâmahopâdhyâya Paṇḍita Durgâ Prasâdaji's edition, Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra* is accompanied by a commentary named Jayamaṅgalâ, therein ascribed to one Yaśodhara. At the end of every *adhyâya*, the colophon is as under—

इति श्रीवात्स्यायनीयकामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गलाभिधानायां ।
विदग्धाङ्गनाविरहकातरेण गुरुदत्तेन्द्रपादाभिधानेन यशोधरेणैकत्रकृतसूत्रभाष्यायां ।
— — — अधिकरणे — — — अध्यायः ॥

To me it appears clear from the above that the commentary, named *Jayamaṅgalâ*, was not the work of Yaśodhara, who occupied himself, during his separation from a cultured lady, in writing out the *bhâshya*, immediately after its corresponding text. The commentary existed before him, but was separate from the text of the *Sûtras*. Yaśodhara whiled away the days of his separation by putting the text and the commentary together. For this labour he has been amply rewarded, by being called the author of the old commentary for hundreds of years!

To the second edition of *Kâmasûtra*, Paṇḍit Durgâprasâdaji's son has added an appendix containing the commentary on the last book which in the former edition was without it. This part of the commentary is printed from a Vizianagaram manuscript, and its colophon is—

इति सप्तमेऽधिकरणे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः । आदितः षट्त्रिंशः । समाप्तं च कामसूत्रटीकायां जयमङ्गलाख्यायामौपनिषदिकं नाम सप्तममधिकरणम् ॥

Here we come across at least one manuscript of the commentary not tampered with by this worthy. From a close examination of the commentary one finds another interesting thing. This long colophon, giving the autobiographical details of the redactor, is found at the end of every *adhyâya*, but at the end of every *prakaraṇa*, there is another pithy colophon incorporated in the text. The text is doubly divided into *prakaraṇa*s and *adhikaraṇa*s as well as into *adhyâya*s. The text marks the end of *adhyâya*s and *adhikaraṇa*s by a colophon which the redactor follows, while the original commentator seems to have marked the ends of *prakaraṇa*s only. He did not think much of the division of the text into *adhyâya*s also, when it was already divided into *prakaraṇa*s and *adhikaraṇa*s, for he says—

तत्राध्यायसंख्यानं पूर्वशास्त्रेभ्य इदं स्तोकमिति दर्शनार्थम् । प्रकरणाधिकरणसंख्यानमन्यनिरपेक्षार्थम् । (p. 9)

In Paṇḍita Durgâprasâdaji's edition, these pithy colophons are not given for the first four *adhyâya*s, which are the same as the first four *prakaraṇa*s. At the end of the fifth *adhyâya*, which is also the end of the fifth *prakaraṇa* and first *adhikaraṇa*, the colophon नायकसहायदूतीविमर्शः पञ्चमं प्रकरणं पञ्चमश्चाध्यायः occurs in one MS. consulted and not in others; but after that these *prakaraṇa* endings regularly occur. From this I suppose that they were removed when a *prakaraṇa* and an *adhyâya* ended in the same place, to make room for the bigger and newer colophon but when the *prakaraṇa* endings did not coincide with the *adhyâya* endings they were allowed to stand.

I find further evidence of the fact that Yaśodhara was not the author of *Jayamaṅgalâ* from a commentary of Kâmandaki's *Nîtisâra*, published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XIV. This is also named *Jayamaṅgalâ*, but its author is Śankarârya.

The following is the first verse of the *Jayamaṅgalâ* on Vâtsyâyana—

वात्स्यायनीयं किल कामसूत्रं प्रस्तावितं कैश्चिदिहान्यथैव ।
तस्माद्विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां टीकामहं सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥

Compare this with the second verse of Śankarârya's *Jayamaṅgalâ* on Kâmandaki—

कामन्दकीये किल नीतिशास्त्रे प्रायेण नास्मिन् सुगमाः पदार्थाः ।
तस्माद्विधास्ये जयमङ्गलाख्यां तत्पञ्जिकां सर्वविदं प्रणम्य ॥

Not only the names and the beginning verses, but the general styles of both the *Jayamaṅgalâs* are similar. Both discuss questions of grammar in the same way and explain, criticise or quote references in the same spirited fashion of ancient commentators. Here is one passage from both in which the words and phrases are almost the same—

Vâtsyâyana :—

यथा दाण्डक्यो नाम भोजः कामाद्ब्राह्मणकन्यामभिमन्यमानः सबन्धुराष्ट्रो विननाश.

Jayamangalâ :—

दाण्डक्य इति संज्ञा। भोज इति भोजवंशजः। अभिमन्यमानोऽभिगच्छन्। स हि मृगयां गतो भार्गवकन्यामाश्रमपदे दृष्ट्वा जातरागो रथमारोप्य जहार। ततो भार्गवः समित्कुशानादायागत्य तामपश्यन्नभिध्याय च यथावृत्तं राजानमभिशशाप। ततोऽसौ सबन्धुराष्ट्रः पांसुवर्षेणावष्टब्धो ननाश। तत्स्थानमद्यापि दण्डकारण्यमिति गीयते। (p. 24)

Kâmandaki's *Nîtisâra*—

दाण्डक्यो नृपतिः कामात् etc.

Śaṅkarârya's *Jayamaṅgalâ*—

तत्र दण्डको नाम भोजवंशमुख्यः। तन्निमित्तप्रसिद्धनामा दाण्डक्यो नाम। स च मृगयां गतस्तृषितो भृग्वाश्रमं प्रविश्य तत्कन्यां रूपयौवनवतीमेकाकिनीं दृष्ट्वा जातरागस्तां स्यन्दनमारोप्य स्वपुरमाजगाम। भृगुरपि समित्कुशादीनादाय वनादागत्य तामपश्यन्नभिध्याय च यथावृत्तं ज्ञात्वा जातक्रोधस्तं शशाप सप्तभिरहोभिः पांसुवृष्ट्या विपद्यतामिति। स तयाक्रान्तस्तथैव ननाश. (p. 20.)

Unless these be cases of unconscious similarity, I propose to conclude that Śaṅkarârya commented on both the *Arthaśâstra* of Kâmandaki and the *Kâmaśâstra* of Vâtsyâyana. He named both his works *Jayamaṅgalâ*, just as Mallinâtha's commentaries on Kâlidâsa are called *Sañjîvanî*.

MISCELLANEA.

THE HARAPPA SEALS.

OUT of the three Harappa seals, the facsimiles of which have been published by Dr. Fleet in the July issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1912 on the plate facing p. 700, I propose here a tentative reading of the seal marked B, *viz.*



The letters may be called "Later Indian Hieroglyphs." Distinctively pictorial traces linger here only in two cases: the fish-picture letters on the seals (A and C),[1] and the tree-like letter in the legend of the seal B. The characters, on the whole, are nearer the system of the old Brâhmî than their pictorial predecessors.

No reading could be offered with any definite amount of certainty until specimens of these characters are available in much larger numbers.

Adopting the Brâhmî order I propose a reading of the legend of the above (B) Seal as:

lo-ba-vya-dî

And reading it from right to left we get:

Dî-vya-ba-lo[2]

I take the first letter (in the latter order) to be derived from the picture of the *dhanu*, bow, and representing *da* or *dha*, the two bars standing for the *mâtrâ î* as attached to the *da*. The second figure I propose to read as *vya*,



standing for *v*, and for *ya*. The original hieroglyph for *va* was probably a representation of the *vîṇâ*, lute, and for *ya*, one of the *yoni*, as suggested by Cunningham.

The next symbol, I think, represents *ba*, (See legend) from which the Brâhmî seems to have come down. The original figure, it appears, reproduced some particular kind of tree. The last character may be read as *lo*, as Dr. Fleet has tentatively read the same character in the seal C.

The Brâhmî *la* probably has its predecessor in the Harappa *la*.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

[1] The figures on A and C have been conjectured to be either that of a deer or bull. The long tail and the hooves in C indicate that it is an attempt at representing the cow. The blurred portion between the hind legs in C probably represented the udder. There is a touch of domesticity in the little cover over the animal, like one seen up-country over the 'begging cows' of Jogîs, and in the mark of a vessel below the mouth of the animal. There seems to be also a band round the neck.

[2] On the same principle I would read the legend of C. as:
Ta-pû-lo-mo-lo-go=tripura-mayuraka?

A FEW REMARKS ON PROFESSOR PATHAK'S PAPER ON DANDIN, THE NYASAKARA AND BHAMAHA.

In his paper on "Daṇḍin, the Nyâsakâra and Bhâmaha," *Ante*, Vol. XLI p. 232, Prof. K. B. Pathak has said: "Mr Narasimhachar quotes from this verse the words पाणिनीयस्य भूयोन्यासं शब्दावतारं and would have us believe that the second word न्यास in this verse is the name of Pûjyapâda's commentary on Pâṇini. This view is amply refuted by the Hebbur plates, which describe king Durvinîta:

शब्दावतारकार-देव-भारतीनिब(ब)द्ध-बृहत्पथः *Ep. Car.*, Vol. *XII.*, p. 17. 'He who was restricted to the path of eminence by the words of Deva [Devanandin], the author of the *Śabdâvatâra.*'

I do not think I have taken the word न्यास as the name of Pûjyapâda's commentary on Pâṇini. A reference to my paper[1] will clearly show that I have taken the word in the sense of a commentary on grammar.

With regard to the passage quoted from the Hebbur plates, it has to be mentioned that the interpretation put on it is no longer tenable, the passage making no manner of reference to either Devanandin or his *Śabdâvatâra*. In a set of copperplates,[2] recently discovered at Gummareḍḍipura, Srinivasapur Taluk, Kolar District, which is dated in the 40th year of king Durvinîta's reign and may be assigned to the early part of the sixth century, the corresponding portion runs thus:

शब्दावतारकारेण देवभारती-निबद्ध-वड्डकथेन किरातार्जुनीये पञ्चदशसर्गटीकाकारेण दुर्विनीतनामधेयेन.

This makes it quite plain that Durvinîta was himself the author of a *Śabdâvatâra*, as also of a Sanskrit (*Devabhâratî*) version of the *Paiśâchî Vaḍḍakathâ* or *Bṛihatkathâ* of Guṇâḍhya and of a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of the *Kirâtârjunîya*. We thus see that there is no ground at all for the supposed connection or contemporaneity of Devanandin or Pûjyapâda with Durvinîta. The passage from the Hebbur plates, which are of a later date than the Gummareḍḍipura plates, can now be confidently corrected thus: शब्दावतारकारो देवभारती-निबद्ध-बृहत्कथः. That Durvinîta was the author of a commentary on the *Kirâtârjunîya* had long been known, but his authorship of the other two works is gathered for the first time from these new plates. It is of considerable interest to know that there came into existence, though unfortunately it has not come down to us, a Sanskrit version of the *Bṛihatkathâ* as far back as the 6th century A. D. The versions now extant are those of Somadêva and Kshemendra, of the 11th century, and that of Budhasvâmî, styled *Bṛihatkathâ-śloka-saṁgraha*, recently published in Paris by Prof. F. Lacote, who is of opinion that it was composed between the 8th and 9th centuries.[3] Prof. Lacote also writes to me: "I believe Budhasvâmin's work is based on an older Sanskrit version of the Bṛihatkathâ, for his version shows by the side of traits relatively modern traces very curious of archaism." This earlier version may in all probability be Durvinîta's.

Further, as shown above, the *Śabdâvatâra* mentioned in the passage quoted from the Hebbur plates, is a work by Durvinîta himself. It is true that Pûjyapâda's *Nyâsa* on Pâṇini is also named *Śabdâvatâra* in a Mysore inscription, dated A. D. 1530, which is quoted by Prof. Pathak, but this work must be quite different from its namesake referred to above. The latter, which has not likewise come down to us, may have been a *Nyâsa* on Pâṇini just like Pûjyapâda's; and it is just possible that Bhâmaha's reference is to this work, though, from the nature of the case, it is not possible to lay much stress on the point.

Prof. Pathak says: "Rakrilagomin was Reverend Rakrila, a Buddhist, and his son Bhâmaha was also a Buddhist." It is not clear on what evidence this assertion is based. If Bhâmaha were a Buddhist, we might reasonably expect some clue, however slight, to his religion in the illustrative stanzas, which, according to him, were composed by himself. On the contrary, we find in these stanzas references not only to the stories of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* but also to the deities Śiva, Vishṇu, Govinda, Pârvatî and so forth. Further, in the fifth chapter of his work, which deals with the logic of poetry, occurs the expression प्रत्यक्षं तत्त्ववृत्ति हि. I am not sure if a Buddhist would express such an opinion.

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XLI, p. 90.

[2] See *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1912, paras 65-69.

[3] See his *Essai sur Guṇâḍhya et la Bṛhatkathâ*, p. 147.

As Bhâmaha criticises the division of उपमा into निन्दोपमा, प्रशंसोपमा and आचिख्यासोपमा, and as these are found in the *Kâvyâdarśa* along with several other varieties, Prof. Pathak has come to the conclusion that Daṇḍî is anterior to Bhâmaha. He says further: "The justice of Bhâmaha's criticism will be at once admitted if we recollect that these numerous varieties are not recognised by Sanskrit writers on *Alaṁkâra*, who succeeded Bhâmaha. Nor can it be urged against this view, that Daṇḍin copied these thirty-three varieties from some previous author, since such a presumption is rebutted by the fact that Nṛipatuṅga has admitted most of these *upamâs* into his Kavirâjamârga II, 59-85." I venture to think that Daṇḍî could not have been the originator of the above-mentioned varieties of उपमा, nor can the fact that most of them have been adopted by Nṛipatuṅga, a later writer, prove that he was so. In the verse पूर्वशास्त्राणि संहृत्य [4] Daṇḍî clearly admits his indebtedness to previous authors, and as a fact, we find some of his varieties, *e. g.*, निन्दोपमा and प्रशंसोपमा in the *Nâṭyaśâstra*[5] of Bharata.

I may remark in passing that the well-known line लिम्पतीव has now been traced to two of Bhâsa's dramas, namely, *Chârudatta* and *Bâlacharita*, by Pandit Ganapati Sastri[6] of Trivandrum.

It is gratifying to note that Prof. Pathak, following a different line of argument, has come to the same conclusion as myself with regard to the period of Daṇḍî, *viz.*, the latter half of the 7th century.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

SOME NOTES ON BUDDHISM.

AMONG the problems regarding the origin and history of Buddhism, the most interesting refer to the original language of Buddhism and to the prime original tradition upon which the various schools into which Buddhism was early divided have drawn. In the year 1909 a little work of the highest importance on the question of the formation of the Pâli canon was published by Professor Sylvain Levi (*Les Saintes Ecritures du Bouddhisme*) which has been translated into English by me. Professor Herman Oldenberg has recently brought out *Studien Zur Geschichte des Buddhistischen Kanon* in which he fully recognises the value and indispensable importance of the Chinese versions upon which Prof. Sylvain Levi has relied. Prof. Oldenberg brings out a few fresh points which will be studied with interest by the schools of Ceylon, Siam and Burma. He produces a number of parallels from the Pâli texts to the *Divyâvadâna*. He shows that the Pâli school is mentioned by the *Divyâvadâna*. He admits that the Pâli is not the original language of Buddhism and that the Pâli canon is translated from the Mâgadhî. He examines carefully the Pischel fragment of the Sanskrit *Aṅguttara Nikâya*, and, with the help of the Chinese rendering furnished by Prof. Sylvain Levi, is enabled to correct the Pâli text; and interprets the whole differently from the construing of the passage by Pischel. Both the scholars emphasise the capital nature of the critical study of Prof. Anesaki on the four Buddhistic *Agamas* in Chinese. Prof. Oldenberg devotes some pages to the literary history of the *Jâtaka* and examines finally the history of the canon as constructed by Prof. Sylvain Levi. He is of opinon that the artists of the Bharhut and the Sanchi Topes were acquainted with a later version of the life of the Buddha than that preserved in the Pâli texts. He is of the same opinion as Prof. Lüders that the original language of Buddhism was the old Ardha-Mâgadhî. A very interesting fact is the prohibition of image worship by the Buddha as hinted at by Prof. Oldenberg. It would be highly interesting to gather together from the oldest portions of the *Tipiṭaka* direct interdiction of idol worship.

Another contribution of high value from the same distinguished Professor at Göttingen is the *Studien Zum Mahâvastu* which explores the Sanskrit work and takes up the search for parallels, where it was left by Prof. M. Senart and Prof. Windisch. Though generally the Professor is enabled to prove the superiority of the Pâli texts, he himself is the first to bring into prominence such passages in Pâli as have been emended with the help of Sanskrit. A striking instance of the *Mahâvastu* supplying a gap in the Pâli text, as published both in London and Siam, is given at p. 131. Prof. Oldenberg gives ample instances where the Sanskrit text is more brief than Pâli, and asserts that these are so many exceptions which prove the rule. At times he himself is in doubt to decide which is the older,

[4] *Kâvyâdarśa* I. 2.

[5] Kâvyamâlâ edition, XVI, 48-50.

[6] See his edition of Bhâsa's *Svapnavâsavadattam*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XV, Introduction, p. XXIII.

the Pâli or Sanskrit (p. 135). Here and there Prof. Oldenberg finds traces of the prime canon on which both the Pâli and the Sanskrit are based (p. 150). Prof. Oldenberg objects, in the light of Central Asian discoveries, to the assertion of Prof. Rhys Davids that the old *vinaya* had never been translated into Sanskrit.

In the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept. and Oct. 1912, Prof. Sylvain Levi gives an exhaustive study of the *apramâda-varga* and the Sanskrit *Dharmapada* discovered by the Pilliot mission. A very interesting fact deduced by Prof. Sylvain Levi from the Chinese authorities is that a portion of the *Dharmapada* was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by a fire-worshipper converted to Buddhism and that the *Mahâvastu* mentions the *Dharmapada*.

Perhaps of still greater value and interest is the Professor's dissertation on the pre-canonic language of Buddhism in the *Journal Asiatique*, Novem. and Decem. 1912. The conclusion of his most fascinating study seems to be that the Aśoka edict of Bairat mentions portions of the Buddhistic scriptures in the language in which they were first given out, that is to say, the prime language of Buddhism. I hope to give a more detailed notice shortly of Prof. Sylvain Levi's studies, which, if accepted, must greatly modify our views of Ur-Buddhism and its language.

* * *

Theorie des douze causes by Prof. L. de la Valle Poussin is his further study of the Buddhist theory of the *pratîtyasamutpâda*. The Professor uses, besides the Pâli canon, the Tibetan *Shatistambasûtra*, and Sanskrit works among them the invaluable *Abhidharmakosha* of Vasubandhu. Sanskritists interested in Buddhist philosophy will be glad to learn that the Belgian Academy will soon bring out the third *kosha* and that Prof. Sylvain Levi is engaged on the first dealing with *vijñaña* and *shaḍayatana*.

G. K. NARIMAN.

KARASKARA OR THE KATKARI TRIBE.

(*Translated from Mr. V. K. Rajwade's Marathi essay.*)

(1) Along with the words Âraṭṭa, Pauṇḍra, Sauvîra, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Prâṇûna, expressive of those countries and their peoples, the word Kâraskara also occurs in the 14th *sûtra* of the second *kaṇḍikâ* in the first *adhyâya* of the first *praśna* of the *Baudhâyana-dharma-sûtras*. This same word Kâraskara is met with in the 44th Chapter of the *Karṇaparvam* of the *Mahâbhârata*. In both these places, this word is used to denote a tribe of barbarians. Baudhâyana has prescribed an expiation for those who might have incurred the guilt of visiting the country of these people. Dr. Bühler thinks that they must have lived in the South. (*Vide*, note on p. 148, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV). This ingenious suggestion, if accepted—and we for ourselves see no objection to it—enables us to throw a new and a better light upon the 156th *sûtra kâraskarovṛikṣhah* occurring in the first *pâda* of the sixth Chapter of Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî*. The Pâraskarâdi group also includes this word Kârasakara, which stands second there. There is, therefore, no doubt, that Pâṇini knew the term *Kâraskara*. Some people include it in the Kâskadi group, but this is not generally allowed. The expression *Sûtra Kâraskaro vṛikshaḥ* means a tree growing in the country called *Kâraskara* and itself having the same name. Pâṇini,[1] we thus clearly see, well knew two facts—(1) that Kâraskara was the name of a country and (2) that the trees from that country were also called *kâraskara*. Of course, if the suggestion that Kâraskara must be some southern country—lying to the South of the Vindhya mountains—be approved, then we may surely say that this southern country called Kâraskara was known to Pâṇini, who, moreover, knew that a very precious kind of timber was being imported from that country into Northern India, in his time.

(2) Now, Baudhâyana tells us that Kâraskara is the name of a barbarian tribe. Let us try to find out, who these people must have been and what must be the present corruption of their name. We think that these Kâraskaras of the time of Pâṇini and Baudhâyana are the present Kâtkaris of Mahârâshṭra. The name Kâtkaris can be derived thus:—

कारस्कर=कारच्चकर=काचकर=कातकर.

As at present, so in ancient times, these Kâtkarîs used to live in the *Mahâkântâra* to the south of the Vindhyas and the country which they occupied came to be called Kâraskara after them. The derivation of this word given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* is thoroughly untenable. Pâṇini thus must have known the Kâraskara country, the *Kâraskara* tree and possibly also the Kâraskara people.

K. C. M.

[1] The original essay is published in the *Report of the Bharat-Itihasa-Samshodhak-Mandal* Vol. III Part II.

THE VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA.

IN December 1912, I discovered at Vadner in the Chândor Tâlukâ of the Nâsik District a set of two copperplates. They contain a grant issued by Buddharâja, son of Saṅkaragaṇa, son of Kṛishṇarâja of the Kaṭachchuri family of Central India, which appears to be an Imperial dynasty.

The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabet and resemble those of the Âbhôna[1] plates of Saṅkaragaṇa and the plates of Buddharâja found at Sarsavṇî[2], a village 4½ miles from Pâdrâ in the Baroḍâ State. These last bear the date, the 15th of the dark half of Kârtika of the year 361 of the Kalachuri era. The Vadner plates record an earlier grant, dated *Bhâdrapada śuddha trayodaśî* of the year 360 of the same era. The date does not admit of complete verification. Attention is invited to Dr. Kielhorn's remarks on the Sarsavṇî plates of Buddharâja. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 295). Diwân Bahâdur Pillai of Madras has kindly furnished me with three dates, *viz.* (1) A. D. 607, Friday, 11th August, (2) A. D. 608, Thursday 29th August, and (3) A. D. 609, Tuesday 19th August, one of which corresponds to that occurring in our grant. I am inclined to accept the third or the last date.

The Kalachuris[3] are mentioned in the Miraj grant, the Neṛûr plates (*Ante* Vol. VII, p. 161), the Sâṅkhêḍâ plate of Śântilla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol II, p. 23), the Aihoḷe[4] and Mahâkûṭa[5] or rather Makuṭeśvara column inscriptions.

The last record states that Buddharâja was defeated by Maṅgaliśa of the Chalukya dynasty, who took possession of all the wealth of the former. From this[6] one is apt to suppose that the power of the Kalachuris of Central India was crushed for ever. But the Sarsavṇî and the Vadner plates prove that Buddharâja must have made good his resources, and reclaimed at least the territory from Gujarât to the Deccan, which probably formed the integral part of the empire. The Vadner charter was issued at the request of Queen Anantamâhâyî by the illustrious Buddharâja while his camp was pitched at Vidiśa. It was made for the purpose of defraying the cost of the five great sacrifices, *bali, charu, vaiśvadêva, agnihôtra* and others. The name of the *dûtaka* (messenger for the conveyance of the grant) is Prasahyavigraha,[7] the great officer appointed over the army, and that of the writer is Nâphita[8], the minister who had to look to the arrangement of peace and war.

The donee is Boṭasvâmin or Boḍasvâmin of the Vâjasaneya-Mâdhyandina school and of Kâśyapa *gôtra*, and a resident of Vaṭanagara, doubtless the modern Vadner in the Chândor *tâlukâ*. It was the headquarters of the *bhôga* of that name. *Vaḍa* is the Prâkrit form of Vaṭa and *nagara* is shortened into *nêr*. We thus get Vadner. The village granted is said to be near Bhaṭṭaurikâ, which may very possibly be Bhâṭgaon about 9 miles from Vadner.[9]

As my paper on the Vadner plates will be published later on, it is needless to dilate on other points here. The above summary is given, as antiquarians are always naturally anxious to learn the salient facts mentioned in an ancient inscription newly brought to light.

It will be noted that the present grant is only the third known issued by the imperial Kalachuri family.

Y. R. GUPTE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A PRIMER OF HINDUISM by J. W. FARQUHAR, Second Edition. Oxford University Press; London, Henry Frowde, 1912.

THIS is a remarkable book both on account of its contents and its authorship, for it has been written by the Literary Secretary of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations in India and Ceylon, and it is a careful and competent historical account of that form of religion, which is known as Hinduism. The reader is taken successively through the prehistoric period, when primitive animism was first developed in the family, to the Vedic times and the rise of the priesthood and theology.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 to 300.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., pages 294 to 300.

[3] Dr. Fleet has shown that the forms Kalatsûri, Kalachuri, Kaḷachuri, Kaṭachchuri and Kâḷachchuri are identical and are applied to the same family (*Ante*. Vol. XIX, p. 16).

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 to 12.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, pages 7 to 20.

[6] The date of the Makuṭêśvara column inscription is 12th April 602 A. D. or thereabouts.

[7] Prasahyavigraha is also the *dûtaka* of the Sarsavṇi grant.

[8] Line 34.

[9] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 9.

Thence to the philosophic period and the formation of the religious doctrines, which laid the foundations of Hinduism as a distinct form of belief, with its offshoots of Buddhism and Jainism, and to the scholastic period, when the doctrine became defined in authoritative writings and manuals. The author then passes on the period of the deification of heroes, which has had so great an effect on the Hinduism of to-day and on its allied religions, and to the days of which he calls decadence, giving birth to the exclusive sectarianism from which India has never recovered, despite the efforts of the great general orthodox sects and of the unorthodox eclectic reformers that arose in mediæval times, with their doctrines of faith and pure deism. And finally he deals with the modern revival of Hinduism as a patriotic stand against the enormous influence of Western ideas on the populace since the advent of British rule and the Christian Missionaries.

All the vexed questions involved in such a survey are treated with historical fairness and wide knowledge and with true sympathy. The style is clear and brief. The reader is shown the history, religion and literature of each period, with illustrative readings and delightful representative texts, and there are also attached to each chapter a series of most careful tables, exhibiting in the briefest and clearest form possible such points as caste, orders of Brahmans, the growth of the Vedas, the chief schools and their *Brâhmaṇas*, Hindu chronological ideas, the *Upanishads*, *Śruti* or the Hindu Canon, the *Sûtras*, the Manuals of the Vedic Schools, the Buddhist *Tipitaka*, the chronology of the Incarnation, the systems of Hindu Philosophy, the Sectarial Literature, the Vaishnava, Śaiva, Krishnaite, and Bhâgavata Schools, and the mediæval reformers.

There are also useful chapters on the outline of the history of the Hindu family, Indian asceticism, modern Hinduism as a system, the animism of the outcaste classes, and the Hindu social organization.

To missionaries who would learn something of the religious ideas that dominate those amongst whom they work, and to all Europeans who would wish to understand, even dimly, the mental attitudes towards religion of those among whom they dwell or with whom they come in daily contact in India, this book is an invaluable *vade mecum*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB. Mainly based on Persian sources By J. N. SARKAR: 2 vols. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta 1912. Rs. 3-8. 5s. net.

These two volumes comprise in reality the reigns of Shâh Jahān and Aurangzeb, and their main value lies in the fact that they bring before the student the first connected authentic account of these two reigns. Hitherto, all that has been available to the English enquirer of an authoritative nature, apart from Lane-Poole's monograph in the Rulers of India series, are the disconnected translations of Elliot from vernacular authors, which have the further disadvantage of being out of strict chronological order and very difficult to collate.

The book is well put together and the foot-notes are of special value, as they not only give chapter and verse for the statements in the text, but provide an extensive bibliography which cannot but be of the greatest assistance to the student of this period of Indian history.

It is pleasant to observe that the author warmly acknowledges his indebtedness to the assistance afforded him by the late Mr. William Irvine, to whose unselfish generosity many other writers on Indian historical subjects have owed so much.

On the other hand, the unpleasant feature of the book is the absence of an index, for which the long list of contents does not compensate the student. One knows how much it goes against the grain of the true Oriental to concoct an accurate index, but when it comes to the author's turn to dive into as many volumes as the present writer has had to consult in the course of his historical studies, he will realize the supreme value of a competent index in saving time and labour.

R. C. TEMPLE.

GRANTHA-PRADARSANI (Nos. 34-39). Edited and published by S. P. V. RANGANATHASVAMI ARYAVARAGURU. Printed by G. R. KRISHNA MURTY, at the Arsha Press, Vizagapatam.

THE editor of this monthly is not unknown to the readers of this *Journal*. In the numbers referred to are published *Prâkrita-sarvasva* of Mârkaṇḍeya-kavîndra and *Aphorisms of Jaina Prâkrit Grammar* of Trivikrama. No pains seem to have been spared in properly editing these works. Some of the works so far published in this monthly are Śrîharsha's *Dvirûpa-kosha*, Agastya's *Śabda-saṁgraha*, Śaṁkara's *Saṁyami-nâma-mâlikâ*, Appayyâ Dîkshita's *Prâkṛita-maṇi-dîpa*, Annaṁbhaṭṭa's *Mitâksharâ*, and *Divyasûricharitaṁ*. He also contemplates editing Mâdhavâchârya's *Ekâkshara-ratna-mâlâ*, Mahâdeva's *Upasarga-varga*, Sesha-Śrî-Krishṇa's *Pada-chandrikâ*, *Kaṇâda-Nyâyabhûshaṇa*, and so on. There can thus be no doubt that Mr. Ranganathasvâmin's one aim appears to be to publish rare and valuable Sanskrit works. And now that the old *Kâvyamâlâ* is all but extinct, the value of his monthly can scarcely be overrated especially as it is being so well edited by him.

D. R. B.

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(Continued from p. 185.)

APPENDIX IV.

Extracts from various authorities relating to the Tin Currency of the Malay Peninsula.

I.

Denys, A Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya, 1894.

S. v. Money. A great variety of small coins of brass, copper, tin and zinc are in circulation throughout all the (Dutch) Islands. The most frequent of these is the Dutch *doit*, of which about 300 ought to go to a Spanish dollar. The intrinsic value of all such coins, however, has no relation to their assumed one, and being usually over-issued, they are generally at a heavy discount.

The small coins of Kedah are of tin. They go under the name of *tra* (stamp, impression). Of these 160 are filed on a filament of rattan, of which 8 strings (*tali*), or 1280 coins, are considered equal to a hard dollar.

Chinese cash are often known as *pitis* by the Malays. This was the name of the ancient coins of Java, and is a frequent appellation for money in general, as well as for small change. Chinese coins of this description were found in the ruins of the ancient Singapore, of as early a time as the tenth century, and we have the authority of the first European that visited Borneo proper, the companion of Magellan, that they were the only money of that part of the Archipelago 'The money,' says Pigafetta, 'which the Moors use in this country is of brass, with a hole for filing it. On one side only there are four characters, which represent the great king of China. They call it *picis*' (*Primo Viaggio*, p. 121).

The absence of all other current coins than such as are now mentioned, previous to the arrival of Europeans is testified to by the Portuguese historian (Barro), and this even in Malacca, the most considerable trading emporium in the Archipelago. The enterprising Albuquerque, before he quitted that place after its conquest proceeded to supply this deficiency . . . 'he ordered money to be coined, for in the country gold and silver passed only as merchandise, and during the reign of the king Muhammad there was no other coined money than that made from tin, which served only for the ordinary transactions of the market.' (*Decade*, II. Bk. 2, ch. 2).

II.

Newbold, Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca. 2 vols. 1839.

Vol. II, p. 94. The following extracts from treaties made by the Dutch shew that they did not fail to profit by this opportunity of increasing the revenue of Malacca. Article I. of a treaty concluded by the Dutch Governor, West Boelan, in council with the Chiefs of Rumbowe (Rembau) and Calang (Klang) dated Malacca, 24 January 1760:—"The tin being the produce of Lingee (Linggi), Rumbowe and Calang, without any exception, will be delivered to the Company at 38 dollars a *bahara* of three *pikuls*, and this price will always continue without its being enhanced.

p. 96. The Dutch resumed their monopoly, as we find from the 7th article of a treaty, dated, Naning, 5 June 1819, between the Supreme Government of Netherlands India and Rajah Ali, the Panghulu and Ampat Suku, of Rumbowe which ran thus:—Rajah Ali, the Panghulu

and Ampat Suku, of Rumbowe, must give up to the Government all the tin from Lingee, Sungie-Ujong, Rumbowe, and any place under their authority, without reservation. The Government binds itself to pay 40 Sp. dollars per *bhara* of 300 *kati* of 370 lbs." . . . On the resumption of Malacca by the English in 1825, the tin trade relapsed into the hands of private merchants.

p. 100. The tin assumes the shape of the ingots of commerce, of which there are two kinds, common in Sungei-Ujong, *tampang* and *kĕping* or *bangka.* The former weighs from half a *kati* to two *kati,* and the latter from 50 to 60 *kati* : one *kati* is equal to one pound and three quarters.

p. 103. According to Mr. Crawfurd (*Hist. of the Indian Archipelago,* 1820), the cost of producing a *cwt.* of *bangka*[63] tin is but £ 1-2·8, whereas the cost of producing the same quantity of Cornish tin amounts to £ 3-4-7. The cost of a *cwt.* of the metal in Sungei-Ujong is estimated by an intelligent native at £ 1-3-0.

III.

J. R. A. S. Straits Branch, No. 10. 32 Nos., Singapore, 1878-99.

p. 246. In a MS. collection of Dutch treaties prepared in Batavia under the orders of Sir Stamford Raffles, while he was Lieut.-Governor of Java the following engagement is to be found. It is dated 15 August 1650, Cornelis van der Lyn being then Governor-General. "Contract with the Chiefs of Perak, dependent on Acheen, stipulating that the exclusive tin trade granted to the Company by the Ratoo of Acheen will likewise embrace the State of Perak; that is to say, that the same will in future be restricted to the Dutch Company and the inhabitants of Acheen. Yang-de-per Tuan, Sultan of Perak, further promises in obedience to the order received from Acheen to direct all foreigners now trading at Perak to depart without delay with an interdiction against returning hereafter. The Company to pay the same duty as at Acheen for the tin it shall export, and the value of the tin coinage to remain as it is at present: *viz.,* 1 *bidor* for ¼ Sp. dollar, and 1 *bahara* of 3 *pikul* for 125 *bidor*[64] or 31¼ Sp. dollars.

P. 247. c. 1651. The first named, Peirah (Perak), is situated on the Malay Coast and is subject to the Queen of Acheh (Acheen). The Establishment, which is under the control of an *onderkoopman* is maintained by the E. Maatschappy solely for the trade in tin, which is obtained for ready money or piece goods at the rate of 51 Rix-dollars the *bahara.*

p. 258. We are told, in an extract from a Malay Chronicle of Perak, that for a *bahara* of tin the Dutch could pay 32 *reals* (dollars); the duty was 2 *reals* besides.

p. 262. In a contract between the Dutch E. I. Company and the Sultan of Perak, dated 1765, the latter engages to sell all his tin exclusively to the Dutch "at the rate of c. 36⅓ or Sp. dollars 11⅓ per (*pikul* of) 125 lbs., or per *bahara* of 375 lbs. Sp. dollars 34."

p. 267. The tin of Perak is said to be delivered to the Dutch "at the rate of 32 Sp. dollars per *bahara* of 428 lbs." (1786).

p. 268. Maxwell says (1883) that the old Perak currency, lumps of tin weighing 2½ *kati* each, called *bidor,* have altogether disappeared.

IV.

Marsden, History of Sumatra, ed. 1811.

p. 172. "Tin called *timah* is a very considerable article of trade . . . The mines are situated in the island of Bangka, lying near Palembang and are said to have been accidently discovered there in 1710 by the burning of a house . . . It is exported for the most part in small pieces or cakes called *tampang,* and sometimes in slabs" (*kĕping*).

[63] *I. e.,* from the Island of Bangka near Palembang in Sumatra.

[64] Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade,* 1775, p. 87, says exactly the same thing: "The Pecul contains 100 Catty or 375 lbs. or 125 Bid" (*bidor*).

V.

Raffles, Java, 1830, Vol. II. Appendix.

(1). *p. li. footnote* The *pichis* is a small tin coin, of which 200 make a *wang*, and 28 *wang* are equal in value to a Sp. dollar.

(2). *p. clxvi.* In the local currency of Java, 10 copper doits make one *wang* (a small silver coin) and 12 *wang* one rupee.

(3). *p. clxvii.* The following table[65] shows the current value of the different coins circulating in Java :—

4	doits	make	1	stiver
10	,,	,,	1	dubbeltje
30	,,	,,	1	schelling
60	,,	,,	1	half rupee (Batavian, Surat or Arcot)
120	,,	,,	1	rupee (ditto)
240	,,	,,	1	American or Austrian dollar
[other variants][66]				
63	doits	make	1	half sicca rupee (Bengal)
126	,,	,,	1	sicca rupee
132	,,	,,	1	half Sp. dollar
164	,,	,,	1	Sp. dollar
190	,,	,,	1	rix-dollar (of account)
312	,,	,,	1	old ducatoon
320	,,	,,	1	new ducatoon

From these tables can be deduced the following useful scales and inferences :—

(1).	200	pichis	make	1	wang
	28	wang	,,	1	Sp. dollar

5600 pichis to the Sp. dollar ∴ the *pichis* here are Chinese cash.

Also 24 *wang* go to the dollar, making 4800 *pichis* to the dollar. The rix-dollar account) would run 4500 cash to the dollar.

(2).	10	doits	make	1	wang
	24	wang	,,	1	dollar

240 doits to the dollar ∴ $2\frac{2}{5}$ doit make 1 cent, and the doit is here the Dutch cash.

(3) General scale.

doits to the dollar					
	4	doits	make	1	stiver (cent)
10	$2\frac{1}{2}$	stiver	,,	1	dubbeltje (wang)
30	3	dubbeltje	,,	1	schelling
60	2	schelling	,,	1	half-rupee (suku)
120	2	half rupees	,,	1	rupee (jampal)
240	2	rupees	,,	1	dollar

240 doits to the dollar ∴ $2\frac{2}{5}$ doit make 1 cent and the doit is here the Dutch cash.

[65] Selections only; differently stated from Raffles for clearness.

[66] Showing how easily the reports of observers of the old time can be misinterpreted.

VI.

Thomas Bowrey, Malay Dictionary[67], *1701.*

10th Dialogue.

(1) Achee.

16	Miams	make	1	booncal
20	booncal	,,	1	cattee
100	cattee	,,	1	pecool
2	pecool[68]	,,	1	bahar Malayo

The *bahar* contains of English averdupoiz weight: 396 *l.* 11 *oz.* 14 *gr.* The *booncal* contains of troy weight: 1 *oz.* 8 *dw.* 23 *gr.*

The aforesaid is the Malayo weight, but they also use the China *dachin* or stilliard for great weights, which is accounted so:—

10	coonderin	make	1	mas
10	mas	,,	1	tial [*tahil*, tale]
16	tial	,,	1	cattee
100	cattee	,,	1	pecool
3	pecool	,,	1	bahar Malayo

The China pecool contains of English averdupoiz weight: 131 *l.* 13 *oz.* 12 *dw.* The *tial* contains of Troy weight: 1 *oz.* 4 *dw.* 1 *gr.*

(2) Bamjarmasseen.

The weights used to weigh gold and silver is accounted so:—

3	matabooroong[68a]	make	1	telae [tĕra, tra: Chinese pron.]
6	telae	,,	1	mas
16	mas	,,	1	tial

The tial contains of Troy weight: 1 *oz.* 8 *dw.* Ten *mas* is accounted a dollar weight, but if the dollar wants 4 telae it is passable. One *mas* weight of gold is accounted the same value as a silver dollar; if so, 10 *mas* weight of gold, or one dollar weight of gold, is valued at ten silver dollars, but men may buy gold cheaper.[69] The dust-gold is near equal in fineness to English gold. For great weights they use the China stilliards.

(3) Succadana.

The weights used to weigh gold and silver is accounted so:—

3	matabooroong	make	1	telae
6	telae	,,	1	mas
16	mas	,,	1	tial

For great weights is used the China *dachin* or stilliard. The *tial* contains of Troy weight, 1 *oz.* 12 *dw.* 13 *gr.* The price of gold is 16 dollars a *tial*: its fineness is near as English gold.

(4) Passeer.

The weights used to weigh gold and silver are accounted so:—

3	mataboorung	make	1	telae
6	telae	,,	1	mas
16	mas	,,	1	tial

[67] A very rare and practically unknown book. Two copies in the British Museum.

[68] (?) Misprint for 3 *pecool.*

[68a] *Mataburung*, bird's eye: *abrus* seed. Cf. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 1813, Vol. II., p. 415, where *matabooroong* becomes *malabooroong* and *telae* becomes *teea* (=*tĕla*), which, when written by a Chinaman, represents *tĕra.*

[69] This means that the ratio of gold to silver was in the latter part of the 17th century 10: 1 or less. For ratio of gold to silver in the Far East at various periods see *ante*, vol. XXVI. p. 310.

The *tial* contains of Troy weight: 1 *oz.* 5 *dw.* 1 *gr.* The gold is in fineness near the English gold, and is valued at 16 dollars the *tial.* For great weights is used the *pecool* and *cattee*: 100 *cattee* = 1 *pecool*. The *pecool* contains of English averdupoiz weight 119 pounds.

(5) Extract from a Letter about Merchandize.

	(dollars	cents)
Black pepper: 25 *bahar*, each *bahar* 3 *pecool*, at 12 dollers the *bahar* ...	300	
White pepper: 15 *bahar*, at 22 dollers the *bahar*, is	330	
Dragon's blood: 5 *pecool*, at 45 dollers the *pecool*, is	225	
Bees-wax: 10 *pecool*, at 12 dollers the *pecool*, is	120	
Canes; 1000	29	48
Factorage of 1025 dollers, at 2 per cent	20	12
	1025 [70]	

VII.

Chalmers, History of Currency in the British Colonies, 1893.

p. 382. For this settlement (Penang) the Company in 1787 and 1788 struck a silver coinage consisting of rupees, with half and quarter rupees and copper cents, half cents and quarter cents, . . . There were also 'pice' here usually of tin. For on 22nd March, 1809, a Government advertisement states that:—'whereas large quantities of spurious pice are now in circulation in this settlement and Government having ordered a new coinage of pice to the amount of 4,000 dollars, which with those that have been before coined at different times, by order of Government, will be sufficient for the purposes of general circulation. Notice is hereby given that on and after the first of next month no pice will be received into the treasury of this island, except such as have been coined by the order of the Government, as before mentioned, so that 100 of which pice shall not weigh less than 4¾ catties of pure tin.[71]

Though the (E. I.) Company had established the rupee as the standard coin in Penang, the trade relations of the settlement constrained the mercantile community to adopt as their standard, not the Indian coin, but the universal Spanish dollar, the coin familiar to the conservative races with whom they had commerce. Therefore from the earliest days of Penang, the dollar, not the rupee, was the recognised standard of value. Writing of this Island Kelly says in his *Universal Cambist* of 1825:—" Accounts are kept in Spanish dollars, copangs and pice, 10 pice make a copang and 10 copangs one Spanish dollar. The current pice are coined in the Island. They are pieces of tin, 16 of which weigh a catty or 1⅓ lb. English. On the exchange of dollars into pice there is a loss of 2%.

p. 383. The Currency of the Straits Settlements is thus described in Low's *Disertation on Penang*, etc., in 1836:—" The dollar is the favourite coin in the Straits. It exchanges in the bazaars for a number varying from 100 up to 120 pice. At present it is pretty steady at 106.[72] Indian rupees are also in circulation, but gold coins are hardly ever seen. There are also half dollars, and the divisions of the *sicca* [Government] rupee. A *sicca* rupee exchanges in the bazaar for 50 pice on an average" [*i. e.*, at par as a half dollar]. And similarly Newbold in his *Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, 1839, (says) . . . " The most current copper coins are the cent, half and quarter cent, the doit, the *wang*, the *wang bhara* [*baharu*], and the Indian pice."

[70] The total is really 1024 dollars 60 cents including "factorage."

[71] This gives the ratio of tin to silver as 5⅓ : 1. See next note.

[72] The nominal local ratio of tin to silver was 10½ : 1 to 10 : 1. The actual ratio as shown by comparative weighments of tin money and its silver equivalents (*ante.* p. 13) was 7½ : 1. The statements here show ratios of 5⅓, 6⅔, 6¼ and 5 : 1; no doubt all due to local variations in the value of tin as stated in terms of silver money.

pp. 383-4. In 1835 the Company revised its currency legislation for the whole of its territories, which included the Straits Settlements, and made no exception in favour of the dollar-using colony when enforcing the establishment of the rupee as the standard coin, with pice as subsidiary circulation. The first concession which the Company made to the requirements of the Straits currency was in 1847, when by Act No. VI, of that year it was provided that the Indian Regulations shall not apply to copper currency of the Settlements of Penang, Singapore and Malacca . . . But this concession was withdrawn in 1855. The preamble of Act XVII of that year reads as follows:—Whereas the Company's rupee is by Act XVII of 1835 a legal tender in the Settlements of Prince of Wales Island (Penang), Singapore and Malacca, but no copper coin except the half-pice issued under Act XI of 1854 is now legal tender of fractions of a rupee in that Settlement . . . it was enacted as follows from the 1st July 1855 :—

A pie (cash) should be the legal

tender in the Straits as	420	to the dollar
A half-pice	280	
A pice[73]	140	
A double pice	70	

p. 383. (In 1863) Sir Hercules Robinson exposed the absurdities of the existing regulations :—All accounts throughout the Straits Settlements, except those of the Government, are kept in dollars and cents, but the smaller accounts are kept in the denomination of rupees, annas and pies, causing thereby much needless labour and confusion in the financial department.

p. 386. (On the transfer of the Colony from the Indian to the Imperial Government in 1867), the new local Legislation . . . under date 1st April 1867 passed the Legal Tender Act of 1867, repealing all laws for making Indian coin legal tender, and declaring that from 1st April "the dollar . . . shall be the only legal tender in payment or on account of any engagement whatever, except as hereinafter mentioned (*i. e.*, as to subsidiary silver coins) . . . The Act goes on to place limits of tender of . . . such copper or bronze coins as may be issued by Her Majesty's Mint or any branch thereof, representing the cent or one hundredth part, the half-cent or two hundredth part or the quarter-cent or four hundredth part of the dollar . . . *Footnote.* The rate at which the conversion of the old into the new currency was to be effected was 220 rupees per 100 dollars.

VIII.

Histoire de la navigation aux Indes Orientales par les Hollandois.
Par G. M. A. W. L. [*Lodewijcksz Willen*].
Amsterdam, 1609.[74] [*Translated.*]

[Book I. relates to the First Dutch Voyage, 1595-7] *fol. 30b.* The Chinese live only at Bantam . . . Those who live at Bantam are those who buy pepper of the villagers . . . storing it until the Chinese ships arrive, when they sell it at two sacks for a *catti*, that is, 100,000 *caxas* [cash], for which they have bought eight sacks or more . . Eight or ten of these ships come every year in January. . . . They bring the coin which has currency over all the Island of Java and the neighbouring Islands; it is called *cas* in the Malay language and *pitis* in Java. It is less than a denier,[75] and of very bad alloy, being cast in a mould. It is of lead mixed with the copper dross,[76] and therefore so fragile that when a string

[73] Ratio of tin to silver 4½ : 1.

[74] These extracts contain the first report of the currency in the Malay Archipelago made to the Dutch. The French in which the account is written is quaint and difficult.

[75] At that time 240 *denier* went to the *livre* (quarter dollar)=960 to the dollar.

[76] The text has: "de plomb meslé d'escume de cuivre" [? zinc].

of them is dropped, eight, ten, twelve, or more are broken. Also if they are soaked for a single night in salt water, they stick together so firmly that half of them are broken.

This coin is cast in a mould in China, at the town of Chincheu,[77] situated in twenty-five degrees North Latitude, and they first began to take it there in 1590, at which date it was first cast in a mould by order of King Hammion, the present ruler, because the King, who was his predecessor, named Wontai, seeing that the *caxas* which had been made for the preceding twenty years by King Hoyjen had, to a large extent, filled the islands ;[78] for they have no currency in China, where everything is bought and sold by little pieces of silver which they weigh by the *conduri* [candareen]. These are little red beans (*fasiols*), having a black spot on one side, called in Latin *abrus*.

Fol. 31a. The Chinese merchants bringing them [cash] from China in such a great quantity and being able to pass them, invented this nasty little coin,[79] in order that by the use and handling thereof, they might break them and use them up. Considering this, that King had them made of an even worse quality, and strung them by a square hole in the middle, 200 together. This they call a *satac* and they are of the value of 3 *liards* of our money. Five *satac* fastened together make 1000 *caxas* which they call *sapcou*: 12,000-13,000 *caxas* are bought for a *real* of 8 [dollar].[80] Few of the first *caxas* are found because they are nearly all used up, and in Java they are no longer current. When they were first introduced, six sacks of pepper were bought for 10,000, where now, on the arrival of the Chinese, they buy only two or occasionally $2\frac{1}{2}$ sacks for 100,000 *caxas* of the present currency . . .

Now, because we have spoken of the weight *conduri*, it should be noted that a large number of *reals* of 8 [dollars] are taken to China, which will not pass because no coin is current there. But they cut them into little pieces, weighed by the above mentioned *conduri*, ten of which make a [gold] *mas*, and 10 *mas* make a *tayel*, which is as much as 12 ordinary *reals* [of silver].[81]

IX.

Anonymous : Collection of Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East India Company. Translated into English [really paraphrased and extended from several authorities of all dates]. London, 1703.

p. 137. Waiting for the payment of pieces of eight for *caxias*, which the Dutch had, bought of them. These *caxias* are a kind of money of worse alloy than lead, of which they string 200 together and call[82] it *una sauta de caxias* and *caxas*.

[77] ? Cachao in Tonquin. See Crawfurd, *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1828, p. 517.

[78] This information and "history" is of course only what the Dutch were told locally.

[79] *Cf.* Crawfurd, *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, 1828 p. 243. "(At Hué) he brought . . . 30 *quans* in money. About 15 Sp. dollars in a miserable coin composed of zinc."

[80] Malay, *sa-takok*, a knot on a string : *sa-pĕku, sa-paku*, a string of cash: Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v. sapéque*: Crawfurd, *Malay-Dict., s. v. paku* (=Cantonese *pak*, a string of cash). *Liard* was an old French copper coin, worth apparently about an English penny on the above statement.

5	*sa-takok*	=1 *sa-pĕku*				
c. $12\frac{1}{2}$	*sa-pĕku*	=1 dollar	∴	1 *sa-pĕku*	=	8 cents
3	liard	=5 *sa-takok*	∴	1 liard	=	$1\frac{3}{5}$
1	cent	= $\frac{1}{2}$ penny	∴	1 liard	=	$\frac{4}{5}$

The close connection of this scale with the sub-divisions of the tin ingot currency of the Malay Peninsula will have become by now clear to the reader.

[81] All this is copied by Mandelslo without acknowledgment in the fashion of his time in *Voyages and Travels to the E. Indies*, 1630-40, in Davies' trans. 1669, pp. 117ff. It is also used in a *Collection of Voyages of the Dutch E. I. Co.*, 1703, pp. 198 f.

[82] *I. e.*, the Portuguese so call it. *Una sauta de caxias* come from Portuguese information and would mean a "string" (*sa-utas*, one string or file) of cash. In the work quoted *sauta* is misprinted *santa* and *sapocou* (*sa-pĕku*) is misprinted *sapoon*.

p. 169. Though 140,000 *caxas*, which is six score pieçes of eight, were offered to make him [a Dutchman] prisoner and deliver him to the Portuguese: [1166½ to the dollar].

p. 233. The small *caxas* are not current money in Bali, but only the great ones, 6,000 of which are worth a piece of eight.

X.

John Crawfurd. Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China, 1828.

p. 517. The proper coined money of Tonquin and Cochin China is called a *sapek* or *sapeque*, and formerly consisted of brass, but at present of zinc. It is about the size of an English shilling, bears the King's name in the Chinese character and has a square hole in the middle for the convenience of being strung, 60 *sapeks* make a *mas*, and 10 *mas* one *kwan* or *quan* [dollar] as it is more usually written. The two last are moneys of account: 600 *sapeks*, which make a *kwan*, are commonly strung upon a filament of ratan and in this manner kept for use, forming a bulky and most inconvenient currency. Ingots of gold and silver, stamped by the Government are current in the Country, although not considered coin . . . the zinc coin, as well as the gold and silver ingots are struck at Cachao, the capital of Tongking. The punishment of death is inflicted for forging the former. The Sp. dollar is current in Cochin China and valued at one *quan* and a half by the Government. The *kwan* of account according to the statement now given ought to be worth 55 cents or something more than half a Sp. dollar, but its price fluctuates with the plenty or scarcity of silver, as may naturally be expected. The price paid by the King for the metal, from which *the zinc currency* is struck, is only 12 *quans* the *picul*: so that of course it *passes for infinitely more than its intrinsic value*, and is therefore an object of considerable revenue.[83]

XI.

Bowring: Kingdom and People of Siam in 1855-1857.

Vol. II., p. 34. [Cambodia—The King sent us] 30 *chu-chu.* This is the currency of the country and a very inconvenient one it is. The only coin current in Cambodia besides . . . is the *petis*. This is made of an alloy of zinc and tin, very thin, and so brittle as to be easily broken between the fingers. It has Chinese characters on one side and a square hole in the middle, for the purpose of being strung on a cord like Chinese cash. The coin itself is Cochin-Chinese, but is current over a great extent of country, including Cochin-China, Tongking, Laos, Champa and Combodia. . . .

60 petis	make	1 tean
10 tean	,,	1 chuchu[84]
7 chuchu	,,	1 Sp. dollar

4200 petis to the dollar.

Ten *chuchu* are generally tied together in a bundle for convenience of carriage: the weight of the bundle is enormous, four of them weighing a *picul.* We received from the King 3 bundles—their equivalent value being equal in Straits money to the magnificent sum of 4 dollars and 28 cents or thereabouts. It certainly looked a great deal, and was just about as much as a man could carry.

(*To be continued.*)

[83] This gives a scale 60 sapek = 1 mas
10 mas = 1 kwan

600 sapek (cash) to the kwan.

Government reckoning, 400 cash to the dollar: actual relative value, 1200 cash to the dollar.

[84] This exactly tallies with Cochin-China scale reported by Crawfurd, *supra.* No. X. *Chuchok,* Malay, string, file [of pierced cash].

KING CHANDRA OF THE MEHARAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

BY M. M. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, M. A., C. I. E.; CALCUTTA.

The Mehârauli posthumous iron pillar inscription gives the following historical information :—

Chandra, an independent ruler conquered Bengal, crossed the seven tributaries of the Indus, and brought Balkh within his sway. The southern boundaries of his dominions were washed by the waves of the southern seas. He was a worshipper of Vishṇu and he erected a flag-staff in honour of that deity.

The inscription gives no information about his capital, his parentage and his time, but as the characters in which it is incised belong to the early Gupta variety of Indian alphabet, he may have flourished in the first century of the Gupta era.

The inscription does not give his surname. Any surname may be given to him. Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu gave him the surname Varman, and Mr. Vincent Smith, the surname Gupta. Mr. Vasu's paper appeared in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1895, pages 177 to 180, and Mr. Smith's in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1897, pages 1 to 18. Mr. Vasu bases his theory on the Susuniâ inscription of Chandravarman which he read from an imperfect impression as follows :—

Pushkarâmbudhipater Mahârâja-Śrî-Siddhavarmmaṇah putrasya Mahârâja-Śrî-Chandravarmaṇah kritiḥ. Chakrasvâminaḥ Dâsâgreṇâtisṛishṭaḥ.

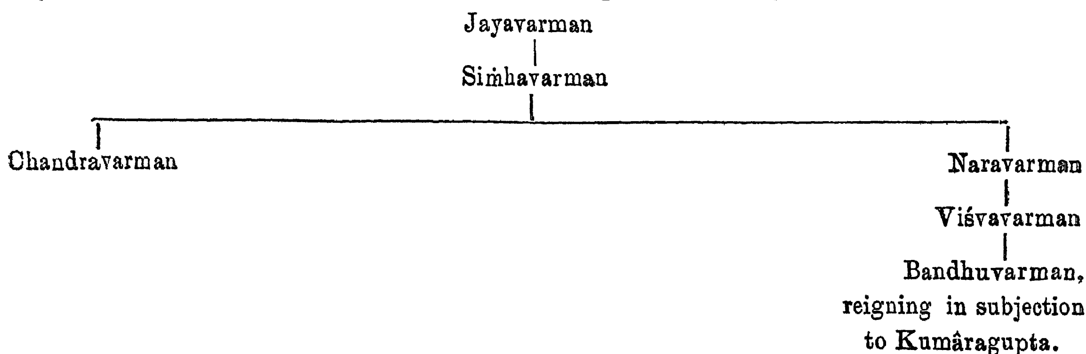
Mr. Smith bases his theory on the fact that at that period there was no great king who could conquer Bengal and Balkh at the same time, and on the fact that the inscription belongs to the north eastern variety of Gupta character. Mr. Vasu says that this Chandravarman is identical with the Chandravarman who was defeated along with other potentates of Âryâvarta by Samudragupta. Mr. Smith says that that may be true, but he cannot be the Chandra of the Iron Pillar, as he is simply styled *mahârâjâ* which means a subordinate position. Mr. Vasu says if this Chandra could conquer Bengal from the Pushkara Lake, how can he be a small king ? Mr. Smith replies that Pushkarâmbudhi must be some place in Bengal or Assam, and not the Pushkara Lake.

I believe, I have stated the position of the two scholars on this point as far as a third person can do. But some facts have since then come to light which have strengthened the position of Mr. Vasu.

Mr. R. D. Banerji very kindly sent me a good impression of the Susuniâ inscription. This impression improves the reading given by Mr. Vasu in one point at least. What he reads *Pushkarâmbudhipateḥ* is really *Pushkaraṇâdhipateḥ*. This makes a good deal of difference in its historical bearing. *Pushharâmbudhi* may or may not be the Pushkara Lake near Ajmer. It may appear to matter-of-fact people absurd to call that small sheet of water, 7 miles from Ajmer, an *ambudhi*, but Sanskrit poets are capable of such exaggeration. The latter part of the compound word may lead men to think of the sea, which is close to Bengal though not to Assam. But all these speculations have been set at rest by the new reading. Pushkaraṇa is a city which still exists. It is the second city in the Jodhpur State, and now stands on the border of the great sandy desert.[1] In the map given by Mr. Smith in his history of the conquest of Samudragupta, vast tracts of the country round Pushkaraṇa have been left outside these conquests. So even he admits that there were independent kings in this part of India which Samudragupta did not or could not conquer. There is nothing to prevent the supposition that Chandravarman king of Pushkaraṇa conquered or raided the greater portion of Âryâvarta and even Balkh but that Samudragupta sent him away from Âryâvarta, but could not conquer his home provinces in Western India ; and I believe this is the right supposition.

[1] Its antiquity is vouched by the fact that an influential body of Brâhmaṇs in Western India go by the name of the city.

Another fact has also come to light which confirms Mr. Vasu's theory. Babu Jaya Śankar, Vakil, Mandasor, has some property close to the city. While he was cultivating one of the fields, his men turned up a stone which contained an inscription. It was immediately taken possession of and kept in the house of the Subbah of the Province. In October last I saw the stone and read it. But as my stay there was short, I was not quite satisfied with my reading. Babu Jaya Śankar very kindly gave me two impressions which he had taken on very thin paper. But as I wanted to be quite sure, I applied to Dr. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India, and at his instance Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has sent me an excellent impression. This stone contains only half the inscription. It breaks up in the middle of a sentence. But the portion that remains gives us a good deal of historical information. It was incised in the year 461 of the Mâlava era, that is, 404 A. D., and it gives us a line of kings in Western India, *viz.* Jayavarman, his son Siṁhavarman, and his son Naravarman, who was reigning in 404 A. D. Now, this Naravarman is known to us from the Gaṅgdhâr inscription, dated 426 A. D., of Viśvavarman, who was his son. Referring to the new impression of the Susuniâ inscription given to me by Mr. R. D. Banerji, I find that what Mr. Vasu read Siddhavarman is really Siṁhavarman, written exactly in the same way as the Siṁhavarman in the inscription discovered by Mr. Jaya Śankar. In the Susuniâ inscription then, Siṁhavarman is the father of Chandravarman, and in the Mandasor inscription of 404 A. D. he is the father of Naravarman. May not Chandravarman and Naravarman be brothers? They both hail from western India, they both have the surname Varman, and the name of their father is also the same. They also come near to each other in time,—Naravarman in 404 A. D. and Chandravarman in Samudragupta's time, which Mr. Smith puts down from 345-380. But as his successor's earliest inscription is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 82, that is, 401 A. D., his reign may have come down to a few years later than 380 A. D. Mr. Smith is wrong, I believe, in including Mandasor in the map of Samudragupta's conquests. For Naravarman and his son Viśvavarman do not seem to have acknowledged any obligation to the Guptas. The only inscription from Western Malwa in which a Gupta name appears is that of Bandhuvarman (436 A. D.), son of Viśvavarman, in which Kumâragupta's name is given first and then that of Bandhuvarman, who is again extolled for his many good qualities, showing that the subjection was not very hard. The line of Varman kings of Pushkaraṇa would then run thus—



It may be urged that the title of all these monarchs, namely *mahârâja* shows a subordinate position. But is it a fact that *mahârâja* always meant a subordinate position? To whom would Mahârâja Jayavarman be a subordinate? Naravarman's grandfather must have lived in 350 A. D. or thereabout. There was no big empire at that time in India, and, by the showing of Mr. Vincent Smith's map, Pokarṇa was never included in Samudragupta's conquests, and yet Siṁhavarman of Pokarṇa is styled a *mahârâja.*

Mr. Vincent Smith may say that as it is not probable that a Mahârâjâ of Pokarṇa should invade distant Bengal, there must have been some Pushkara or Pushkaraṇa in Bengal or Assam. But then the burden of proving lies on him. Pushkarṇa is a well-known place. The Susuniâ inscription agrees in character with the Mandasor inscription of A. D. 404. The compound letter *m* and *h* are exactly alike in both. They are records within a few decades of each other. So unless the contrary is clearly shown, people have a right to believe that a Mahârâjâ of Pokarṇa did invade Bengal. It may be argued that while Chandragupta I. and Samudragupta were powerful monarchs and were extending their dominions on all sides from the capital at Pâṭaliputra: how could a king, however powerful, of Pokarṇa, conquer Bengal? But the Susuniâ inscription says that Chandravarman of Pokarṇa did conquer that part of the country and erect the wheel there; so in spite of Chandragupta and Samudragupta he did come there and conquer.

This may be possible only if it is considered that Chandravarman came to Bengal before the victorious career of Samudragupta began. In fact, Samudragupta, in establishing his dominions in Âryâvarta, had to conquer Chandravarman. In ancient India and even in modern India powerful kings often had dominions distant from their home provinces. Duryodhana had Aṅga as one of his provinces, though in the intermediate space there were other independent sovereigns. The feudatory states of the present day often have possessions detached from their main possession. Shivajî had Tanjore far away from Poona. Similarly Chandravarman might have possessions in Bengal.

It is much easier to believe that a Mahârâjâ of Pokarṇa would invade or lead an army to Balkh than to think that a Mahârâjâ of Pâṭaliputra would invade that country. The distance between Pâṭaliputra and Balkh is certainly much greater than the distance between Pokarṇa and Balkh or Pokarṇa and Bengal.[2]

The argument from palæography, though very powerful when centuries are concerned, is of very little force for shorter periods. That the iron pillar inscription is written in eastern variety of Gupta character does not show that the inscription necessarily belongs to a Gupta emperor. The man who inscribed the inscription may have known only the eastern variety of character. The last argument of Mr. Vincent Smith is now given in his own words. :—

"When to all these arguments is added this, that it is impossible to indicate any other sovereign of the period to whom the language could be applied the conclusion is inevitable that the Chandra who set up the iron pillar was beyond doubt Chandragupta II."

The inevitable conclusion depends upon one assumption that it is impossible to indicate any other sovereign. But, with Siṁhavarman close by at Pokarṇa, having complete mastery of western India including western and even central Malwa, where is the impossibility of indicating another sovereign?

Mr. Smith admits that the wording of the iron pillar inscription departs widely from the ordinary formula of the Gupta inscriptions, and yet he is convinced that the mysterious emperor can be no other than Chandragupta II. But others are not so convinced, and the probability of the mysterious emperor being Chandravarman is now all the greater for the new reading of Pushkaraṇa for Puskara in the Susuniâ record and the discovery of the new Mandasor inscription of 404 A. D.

[2] The Sisuniâ inscription has the figure of a wheel before it. The wheel is pretty large and is complete with spokes, nave and rim. The inscription is meant to record the dedication of the wheel to Vishṇu. The iron pillar inscription records the dedication of a flagstaff to Vishnu. Both these are likely to be the work of one devoted follower of Vishnu. This is another argument in favour of the Candra of iron-pillar being Candra Varma. Because the wheel and flagstaff are both sacred to Vishnu and one who erects a wheel is likely to erect a flagstaff also. I think the same donor dedicated other signs also sacred to Vishnu and some of them may yet be discoverd.

MUKTAGIRI.[1]

BY HIRA LAL, B. A.; NAGPUR.

MUKTAGIRI or Salvation Hill is what is called a *siddha-kshetra* of Jainas, whence 3½ crores (35 millions) of Jaina devotees are said to have obtained *nirvâṇa* or salvation. Its old name is said to have been Meḍhagiri or Sheep Hill, because a sheep happened to fall from its top, but attained salvation owing to the sanctity of the place. It is referred to as Meḍhigiri in the Jaina book *Nirvâṇa-bhakti*, in which the following *gâthâ* occurs :—

Achchalapura vara ṇiyaḍe
îsânai bhâya Meḍhigiri sihare
Ahuṭhṭhaya koḍio ṇivvâṇa.
gayâ namo tesiṁ.

"To the north-east of Achchalapura lies Meḍhigiri Hill (whence) 3½ crores[2] attained *nirvâṇa.* I bow down to it."

Achchalpura is the old name of Ellichpur, to the north-east of which lies Muktagiri, at a distance of about six miles. It is included in the Betûl district of the Central Provinces and is fifty-seven miles from Badnûr, the head-quarters of the district. The hill is included within the village of Thaporâ, and is about a mile away from the *bastî.* It is reached by a country road, passing between two mountains rising high on either side, and presenting a most picturesque view to the passer by. These two hills, which are parts of the Satpuḍâ range, meet at the point which was selected by the Jainas as their sacred place, where as many as 48 temples have been constructed, containing 85 idols of the various Tîrthaṅkaras, the principal one being Pârśvanâtha. Below the hill there is a new temple built in which twenty-five idols are enshrined, some being new and others being those of old temples on the hill, now brought down below. The dates on these range from 1488 to 1893 A. D. The hill has two principal groups of temples, one at the highest point, containing four temples, which enshrine only the twenty-four pairs of *charaṇas*, or footmarks of the Tîrthaṅkaras or Jaina incarnations. As a matter of fact, however, there are 26 pairs instead of 24. The main group of temples is at the middle of the hill, and has a temple cut out from the rock. It is not exactly in the cave style, the roof being ornamented with artificial arches. The central and the largest temple is that of Pârśvanâtha with a golden pinnacle on its top. The image inside is canopied with seven snake-hoods, one of which, the local tradition goes, was broken with a stick by Aurangzeb, whereupon a stream of blood shot forth, which restrained the iconoclast from making further injuries to the idol. It is believed that until recently the blood mark was visible on the broken hood, but somehow or other it has now disappeared. The temple was apparently roofed, but a brick dome, as in almost all other temples, has been erected over it, fully on the Muhammadan style. To the west of this temple there are three temples made of stone. One has a small portico supported on four pillars, two of which belong to an old temple, which seems to have fallen down. The carvings on these pillars are beautifully executed, especially the one which occupies the south-west corner. It is ornamented with *kîrtimukhas* and with carvings of bells suspended with chains, as also Jinas in standing and sitting postures. Inside the temple, of which this forms the portico, there are broken pieces of pillars and *śikhara*, which indicate the existence of an older temple here.

On a still higher level to the west of this temple is another old temple, which has an underground terrace. This is rather in a decayed state, and has had to be supported by

[1] Visited on 18-3-10.

[2] The word is *koḍi*, which is taken as a corruption of *koṭi*; but the more reasonable version would be to take it in its ordinary sense of a score. It is very possible that 70 saints obtained *nirvâṇa* from this hill.

buttresses in several places. At the entrance on the top there is an exquisite carved image of a Jaina Tîrthaṅkara. Thus there are really 5 old temples, which may claim to have been built during mediæval Brahmanic period, or prior to the 13th century A. D.

Most of the images placed in this group of temples are made of black or white marble, but there are others made of ordinary red stone. Most of the marble stones are dated, and go as far back as 1488 A. D. They are much finer in sculpture than the red ones, which are locally believed to be older than the marble ones. It is very possible that the red ones are older and were made by local sculptors, who apparently were rude workers.

Besides the temples, there are spacious *dharmaśâlâs*, or rest-houses for the pilgrims, and there are also underground temples, where everything is pitch dark without a lamp. Some of these underground places are said to have been covered up as being dangerous. Formerly the temples were not carefully looked after and they had decayed, but now the Jaina community is taking active interest in their conservation, and duly repairs and whitewashes them. This work was first commenced in the year 1890 by Bâpû Shâh of Ellichpur, who spent about Rs. 22,000 in doing *jîrṇoddhâra* or repairs, and enshrining new images where they were missing. Now each temple contains three or four or even a larger number of images. On one temple there is a stone inscription dated Saṁvat 1691 and Śaka 1556, or 1634 A. D., recording the names of the builder with his family. Another stone has now been inserted giving the repairer's name as Sîtâbâî of Amraoti. A regular staff of temple servants is now engaged to look after the temples, whose picturesqueness is well described by a party of visitors, in the Visitors' Book kept by the manager. This may well be quoted here. "This charming place, due to the charity and munificence of the Jaina community, so full of beauty and interest, perched in such commanding surroundings, wrought upon us all a sort of spell. One would well believe that the green moss-grown water-fall was fashioned, as we were told by our guide, by the fairies. The images of the gods, their expressive countenances, mysterious and brooding, with foreheads that seem to hide within themselves great thoughts, withdrawn and unspeakable, the courtyards, the temples and all their beauty, brought great enjoyment to our party[3]."

The Jainas believe that there is occasionally a shower of *kesar* (saffron) rain on the temples, which leaves yellow marks on them. Whether this has any connection with any kind of droppings from the numberless *bhaṁwar* bees, which make numerous combs on the rocks is a matter for leisurely determination.

ON SOME NEW DATES OF PANDYA KINGS IN THE 13TH CENTURY A. D.

BY DEWAN BAHADUR L.D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L. (MADRAS); LL.B. (LOND.).

(Continued from p. 172.)

*Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya.

[Reign began between 29th December 1270 (See No. 584 of 1902 below) and 5th January 1271.]

1909 (680). From the west wall of the Chaṇḍikêśvara shrine in the temple of Neḍuṅgaḷanâthasvâmin, at Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam (Trichinopoly District). Gift of land for a lamp by Aryan Śivandakâlaḷagiyâṉ of Puduvûr in Ârvalakûṟṟam, a sub-division of Râjêndra-chôḷa-vaḷanâḍu.

Date.—3rd year of Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya; Rishabha; su. 11; Monday; "Pushya" [su. 11 error for su. 5]. On Monday, 22 May 1273, Rishabha su. 5 and "Pushya" ended respectively at ·73 and ·01 of the day.

Note.—A date wrong by 6 tithis is not a satisfactory date. It is possible, however, that *Pusam*, the Tamil equivalent in the inscription for Pushya, is a wrong reading for "*Puram*" = "Purva Phalguni," but though the combination of "Purva Phalguni" with Rishabha su. 11 is possible, such a combination did not actually occur even once on a Monday between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1350. It occurred on days of the week, other than Monday, in A.D. 1200, 1216, 1227, 1235, 1238, 1254, 1265, &c; and on Monday, but in Mesha (not Rishabha) in 1258 and 1275. Possibly

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[3] H. Campbell and others.

the date intended is Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1278, when Mesha su. 11 and "Purva Phâlgunî" commenced; they ended next day at .33 and .70 respectively. This would be the 3rd regnal year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya whose reign began in 1276.

1909 (303). From the south wall of the outer *prâkâra* of the Kachchhapêśvara temple at Tirukkachchûr (Chingleput District). Gift of one buffalo for a lamp.

Date.—7th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya: Mîna; su. 10; Sunday; "Hasta" [*Mîna* error for *Ṛishabha*]. On Sunday 24th May 1276, Rishabha su. 10 and "Hasta" ended at ·49 and ·16 respectively. [Regnal year, 7th, should be 6th].

1908 (411). From the west wall of the first *prâkâra* in the Viḷinâthasvâmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai, Tanjore District; Damaged. Seems to record a gift of land for the benefit of the *maṭhas* and minor shrines in the temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai; mentions a certain Nârpattеṇṇâyira Piḷḷai among the Śaiva devotees.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya; Dhanus; su. 8; Friday; "Rêvatî." On Friday, 23 Decr. 1278, Dhanus, su. 8; and "Rêvatî" ended at ·26 and ·03 respectively.

1909 (667). From the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the temple of Neḍuṅgaḷanâthasvâmin, at Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam, Trichinopoly District. Gift of land to the temple of Tiruneḍuṅgaḷa Uḍaiya Nâyaṉâr in Vaḍagavi-nâḍu which was a sub-division of Pâṇḍya-kulapati-vaḷanâḍu.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya; Makara; su. 10; Wednesday; "Rohiṇî." On Wednesday 5 Jan. 1278, Makara su. 10 ended at ·36 and "Rôhiṇî" commenced, ending next day at ·41.

1909 (319). From the north wall of the Vighnêśvara shrine near the tank, in the Tirukkachchûr village (Chingleput District). Gift of land in Brahmaku[ḷa]ttûr *alias* Vêṭṭaikâraṉ-kuḷattûr in Uṟṟukkâṭṭukôṭṭam, to the temple of Nârpatteṇṇâyira-viṇṇagar Emberumâṉ at Tirrukkachchûr.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya; Ṛishabha; su. 3; Thursday; "Pushya." On Thursday 26 May 1278, Rishabha su. 3 ended at ·37 of day and "Pushya" commenced, ending at ·27 of Friday.

1909 (305). From the south wall of the outer *prâkâra* of the Kachchhapêśvara temple at Tirukkachchûr (Chingleput District). Records the gift by a temple dancing-girl, of a lamp and a brass image carrying it.

Date.—8th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya; Mithuna; *bahuḷa* . . . . . . Monday, "Utt. Bhâd." On Monday 13 June 1278, Mithuna ba. 7; and "Utt. Bhâd." ended at ·30 and ·79 respectively.

1902 (584). From the west wall of the Saundaryâ-nâyakî shrine in the Kâḷîśvara temple at Kâlaiyârkôvil (Madurâ District). Gift of land.

Date.—10th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya; Dhanus, su. 2; Sunday; "Pushya" [*Dhanus* must be *Makara*, and *śukla* must be *bahuḷa*]. On Sunday 28 Dec. 1281, Makara ba. 2 and "Pushya" came to end respectively at ·76 and ·00 of the day.

Note.—Relying on this date, I have fixed the earlier limit of the commencement of this reign as 29 Dec. 1270. The particular combination of tithi and nakshatra on a Sunday did not occur in the 10th year of reign of any of the other Sundara Pâṇḍyas and it may therefore be safely assumed that the date belongs to the present reign. If so it would belong to the 11th year, not to the 10th.

1909 (315). From the north wall of the outer *prâkâra* of the Kachchhapêśvara temple at Tirukkachchûr (Chingleput District). Refers to the confiscation of the property of some rebellious and misbehaved people at Uttippâkkam and registers a gift to the temple of Tirukkachchûr.

Date.—13th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya. Kumbha, su. 5; Wednesday; "Aśvinî." On Thursday 4 Feb. 1283, Kumbha su. 5 and "Asvinî" came to end at ·20 and ·39 respectively. They were both current for the greater part of Wednesday, 3rd February.

1909 (418). From the east wall of the *prâkâra* in the Vyâghrapâdêśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam (S. Arcot). Records that the Śiva-Brâhmaṇas of the temple agreed to provide for offerings in the shrine of Âḷuḍaiya Piḷḷaiyâr, from the interest on 2000 Kâśu presented to the temple by Ârindavaṉ-Pallavarâiyaṉ in the time of Kôpperuñjiṅgadêva and now placed in their hands.

Date.—13th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya; Mîna; su. 6; Saturday; "Rôhiṇî." On Sat. 6th March 1283, Mîna. su. 6 and "Rôhiṇî" ended at ·51 and ·54 respectively.

1901 (191). From the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Âpatsahâyêśvara temple at Teṉṉêri (Chingleput District). Gift of land.

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya; month of Âḍi; Monday; "Hasta." On Monday 9th July 1285, "Hasta" ended at ·48 [Regnal year should be 15th, not 14th].

1909 (308). From the south wall of the outer *prâkâra* of the Kachchhapêśvara temple at Tirukkachûr (Chingleput District). Gift of 3 cows for a lamp by a merchant of Madhurântaka-Chaturvêdimaṅgalam, residing in the street Buvanamuḻudupperunderuvu, of that village.

Date.—17th year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya; Siṁha, śukla . . . . "மியும்", Monday; "Utt. Âsh." On Monday 6 Sep. 1288, Siṁha *śukla navamî* (9th tithi) ended at ·22 of day and "Utt. Âsh." was current for the greater part of the day, ending at ·21 next day. [Regnal year was strictly the 18th, not 17th].

N. B.—This Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya, whose reign is attested by six regular and several fairly regular dates, noticed above, comes between Kielhorn's Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya I and his Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya II, who is really the third of that name in the present list of Pâṇḍyas of the 13th century. I would, however, not assign any numbers till we know more about the Sundara Pâṇḍyas in the latter half of the 12th and the first half of the 13th century; but simply distinguish each Pâṇḍya, whether Sundara or Vîra, by the initial year of his reign. It would be interesting to know when Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya, who came to the throne on or about 29 Dec. 1270, ceased to reign. A. D. 1288 is the latest date furnished by Madras Inscriptions, while in one of the Pudukoṭṭai inscriptions I have found a 30th year for him, *i. e.*, A. D. 1300. If Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya whose reign began in 1270 ceased to reign in or about A. D. 1300, he cannot be the parricide who murdered Mâr. Kulaśekhara I, in or about A. D. 1310. Nor can the parricide be the Jaṭ. Sundara Pâṇḍya who next comes under our notice and whose reign, beginning in A. D. 1276, ended in all probability, according to the inscriptions, as well as the Muhammadan historians, about A. D. 1293.

Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya II.

(Reign began between 13th September 1275 and 15th May 1276 on or about 25th June 1276).

1908 (414). From the Viḻinâthasvâmin temple at Tiruviḻimiḻalai (Tanjore District) Gift of land for the recital of *tirumurai*.

Date.—9th year of Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya; Tuḷa; ba. 7; Sunday; "Pushya." On Sunday, 21 Oct. A.D. 1285 Tuḷa. ba. 7 and "Pushya" *commenced* respectively at ·24 and ·14 of the day. They ended next day at ·20 and ·12 respectively.

1902 (581 A). From the west wall of the Saundaryanâyakî shrine in the Kâḷîśvara temple at Kâḷaiyârkôvil (Madura District). Gift of land.

Date.—11th year of Sundara Pâṇḍya II. Dhanus; 2nd *tiyadi*, Wednesday; "Punarvasu" = Wed. 4th Dec. 1286, on which day Dhanus ba. 2 and "Punarvasu" ended respectively at ·82 and ·93 respectively.

[N. B. "Second *tiyadi*," ordinarily meaning the 2nd day of a solar month, is an unusual expression for *dvitîyâ* or "2nd lunar tithi", although *tiyadi* is etymologically the same as *tithi*].

1902 (575). From the south wall of the Kâḷîśvara temple at Kâḷaiyârkovil (Madura District). Gift of land to the temple of Kâṇappêr by Aghôraśiva Mudaliâr *alias* Vaidya-chakravartin. Mentions also a certain Pushpavanaśiva.

Date.—12th year of Jat. Tribh. Sundara Pâṇḍya; Siṁha 29; ba. 3; Wednesday, "Rêvatî." On Wednesday, 27th August 1287 [which was 30 Siṁha, not 29 Siṁha], ba. 3 and "Rêvatî" ended at ·73 and ·37 respectively.

There is another date, very similarly worded, but referrible to a Sundara Pâṇḍya whose reign must have commenced in A. D. 1303—[See No. 580 of 1902 below].

1907 (590). From the north wall of the Tiruchuṭṭumâḷiga of Saumyanâthasvâmin temple at Nandalûr (Cuddapah). Damaged.

1909 (302). From the South wall of the outer *prâkâra* of the Kachchapêśwara temple at Tiruppachchûr (Chingleput District) Tamil. Gift of 30 cows and one bull for a lamp by a native of Maṇanallûr *alias* Vîrasoḷachaturvêdimaṅgalam in Sembûr Kottam, a subdivision of Jayaṅgoṇḍa chōḷa-maṇḍalam.

Date.—Year opp. 13th of Jaṭâvarman Tribh. Sundara Pâṇḍya; ba. 10; Monday; "Krittika"= Monday 3 July 1290 when ba. 10 in Kataka and "Krittika" ended respectively at ·44 and ·77 of the day.

Date.—(15th) year of Jat. Sundara Pâṇḍya; *Virôdhi* Saṁvat; Kumbha; su. 10 ; Monday, "Punarvasu." On Monday 20 Feb. 1290, which was in Virodhi Saṁvat, Kumbha su. 10 ended at ·60, and Punarvasu began, ending next day at ·05 .
[15th year, error for 14th].

1908 (69.) From the south wall of the central shrine in the Nîlakaṇṭhêśvara temple at Veḍâl (North Arcot District). Gift of land to the temple of Kaṟaikkaṇḍîśuramuḍaiya-Nâyaṉâr at Viḍâl in Vidâṟ-paṟṟu *alias* Vikrama-Pâṇḍya-vaḷanâḍu, a district of Veṇkuṉṟa-kôṭṭam in Jayaṅgoṇḍa chôla-maṇḍalam.

Date.—[This date appears, without any result, positive or negative, among the dates published by Prof. Jacobi in *Ep. Ind.* XI p. 136]. 3rd year opp. 13th Konerinmaikondan Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya. Kaṭaka ; su. 7 ; Wednesday ; "Hasta." On Wednesday 4 July, A.D. 1291, Kaṭaka su. 7 and "Hasta" ended at ·53 and ·01 respectively. (For ending moment of Nakshatra local time has also to be considered).

1904 (123). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Śivâṅkurêśvara temple at Tîrthanagarî (South Arcot). Gift of land for the festival called Kodaṇḍarâmaṉ-sandi after the king.

Date.—3rd opposite 13th year of Kônerinmaikoṇḍân Sundara Pâṇḍyan; Mêsha su. 9, "Pushya" =Friday 28th March 1292, when Mesha, su. 9 and "Pushya" ended at ·59 and ·25 respectively.

N.B.—The inscription particularizes the date now dealt with as the 276th day of the 16th regnal year. If so, the reign would appear to have commenced on or about 25th June 1276, which is consistent with all the dates found so far for this Sundara Pâṇḍya, except Kielhorn's "P." No. 27 "year opp. 14 ; Monday 15th May 1290."

*** Mâravarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Vikrama Pâṇḍya.**

(Reign began between 12th Jan. and 29 Aug. 1283).

1902 (143). From the south wall of the *prâkâra* in the Râmasvâmin temple at Bannûr (Mysore District). Sale of land.

Date.—3rd year of Mâravarman Vikrama Pâṇḍya ; Makara ; su. 4 ; Friday ; "Punarvasu" [*Śukla 4* must be *Śukla 14*]. On Friday 11th Jan. 1286, Makara su. 14 and "Punarvasu" ended at ·20 and ·12 respectively.

1896 (120). From the north wall of the second *prâkâra* in the Kanyâkumarî temple at Cape Comorin (Travancore State). Gift of lamp.

Date.—5th year of Mâravarman Vikrama Pâṇḍya; Dhanus ; śukla 8; Sunday; "Rêvatî." On Sunday 14th Dec. 1287, Dhanus śukla 8 and "Rêvatî" ended at ·12 and ·64 respectively.

1909 (410). From the east wall of the *prâkâra* in the Vyâghrapâdêśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam (S. Arcot). Gift of land for offerings by the *nagarattâr* of Śiṟṟiṅgûr.

Date.—6th year of Mar. Tribh. Vikrama Pâṇḍya ; Kanni ; su. 1 ; Sunday ; "Hasta." On Sunday 29 Aug. 1288 (=1 Kanni), Kanni su. 1 ended at ·60 while "Hasta," began at ·38, ending next day at ·42.

[Inscriptions Nos. 53 and 54 of 1905 give this Pâṇḍya the Śaka date 1209=A.D. 1287].

1900 (116). From the north wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Trivikrama-Perumâl temple at Tirukkoilûr (S. Arcot). Refers to the king's victory over the Kâkaṭîya king Gaṇapati and records a gift of two lamps.

Date.—8th year of Tribhuvanarâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara Śrî Vikrama Pâṇḍya ; Dhanus ; ba. 8 ; Friday ; "Hasta." On Friday 14th Dec. 1291, Dhanus ba. 8 and "Hasta" ended at ·90 and ·85 respectively.

1901 (251). From the south wall of the central shrine in the Akshêśvara temple at Achcharapâkkam (Chingleput District). Damaged; gift of land.

Date.—3rd year of Mar. Tribh. Vikrama Pâṇḍya; ["may be 5th," says Epigraphist; but the impression which he was good enough to examine again with me, seems to be a fairly clear "3rd year"]. Mîna; ba. 11; Monday; "Sravaṇa." There is no date corresponding to the given chronological details between A.D. 1283 and A.D. 1290, but on Monday 26 Feb. 1291 (which however was in the 8th year, as in the last inscription, not in the 3rd or 5th), Mîna ba. 11 ended at ·51 of the day and "Śravaṇa" commenced at ·15, ending at ·17 on Tuesday.

*** Jaṭâvarman Tribh. Vikrama Pâṇḍya.**

1894 (11) From the inside of the north wall of the second *prâkâra* in the Sundararâja-Perumâl temple at Dâḍikkombu (Madura District). Incomplete.

Date.—4th year of *Jaṭâvarman* Tribhuvana-chakravarti Vikrama Pâṇḍya; Mithuna, su. 9; Thursday; "Śvâti."

On this inscription the Madras Epigraphist remarks: "The characters are earlier than those of inscriptions belonging to Kielhorn's 'K,' Konerinmaikondan Vikrama Pâṇḍya, whose reign commenced in A.D. 1401. This *Jaṭâvarman* Vikrama Pâṇḍya may have been contemporaneous with Mâravarman Vikrama Pâṇḍya (A. D. 1283)."

Elsewhere (Annual Report for 1910-11, p. 79) we read "In the time of Jaṭ. Vikrama Pâṇḍya whose exact period of rule could not be fixed at present, etc."

I find no dates that would suit the chronological details and the period assigned by the Epigraphist, except the following:—

(1) On Thursday, 30 June A.D. 1278, Mithuna su. 9 and "Śvâti" ended at ·59 and ·54 respectively.

(2) On Thursday, 1 July, 1305, Mithuna su. 9 and "Śvâti" ended at ·90 and ·75 respectively.

When more dates of this reign are found, a further approximation may be attempted.

*** Jaṭâvarman Śrîvallabhadeva.**

(Reign began between 5 Ap. and 12 Nov. 1291.)

1909 (503). From the South wall of the Parannangâttaruḷiyasvâmin temple at Puduppāḷaiyam (Tinnevelly District). Tamil, appears to record a gift of money for a lamp; much damaged.

Date.—6th year of Srimat Śrîvallabhadeva; Mesha; [ba.] 11; Friday; [may also be read, says Epigraphist, as Monday]; "Uttara Bhâdrapada." On Friday, 19 April A. D. 1297, ba. 11 in Mesha and "Uttara Bhâdrapada" ended respectively at ·11 and ·87 of day.

1909 (499). From the east wall of the Veṅkaṭâchalapati-Perumâḷ temple, at Sôlapuram (Tinnevelly District), right of entrance. Damaged; mentions Uttamaśoḷa-Viṇṇagar.

Date.—[9]th year of Jaṭâvarman Śrîvallabhadêva; Mesha 11; . . . . . *Paurṇamî*; Tuesday.

The Epigraphist commented thus on this inscription: "The record is much damaged and the reading very doubtful." The value, however, of the solar day of the month, in investigating the particulars of a reign regarding which nothing was known, induced me to beg the Epigraphist to examine the impression once more in my presence. This was done; and the conclusion arrived at by us was that although the record was much damaged, there was no doubt about the words "Mesha, *Paurṇamî* and Śevvâi (= Tuesday);" there remained the day of the solar month which we read as "11" but which might equally be "19" or "16". Presuming that it was "11," I arrive at the date, Tuesday 5 April A. D. 1300, which was full-moon day and 11 Mesha.

1902 (642). From the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Pârijâtavanêśvarasvâmin temple at Tirukkaḷar (Tanjore District). Sale of land to Vijaya-Gaṇḍa-gôpâla.

Date.—25th year of Jaṭâvarman Śrîvallabha; Mesha; su. 11; Saturday; "Magha." On Saturday, 3 April, A. D. 1316, "Magha" ended at ·60 of the day and Mesha *śukla* 11 commenced on at ·18, ending at ·26 next day.

1902 (639). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Mihirâruṇêśavara temple at Tirumîyachchûr (Tanjore District). Gift of land.

Date.—21st year of Mâravarman Kulaśekhara ; Mithuna ; śukla 12 ; Monday ; "Śvâti."

Later, the same inscription refers to **Jaṭâvarman Srîvallabhadeva's** 25th year, Vṛischika, ba. 15 [aparapakshattu *pauṇṇiyai*, an extraordinary expression, since *paurṇamî* must of course fall in *pûrva paksha*] ; Wed.; Rôhiṇî. The date first quoted in the inscription may be referred, as is done below, to the reign of Mâravarman Kulaśekhara II, *i. e.*, to A.D. 1334.

The second date may be identified with *Wednesday, 12 Nov. 1315*, when Rôhiṇî ended at ·66 of day, and ba. 1 (*aparapakshattu prathamaî*) at ·95 of day. Either the inscription wrongly quotes *paunniyai* for *prathamai* which, considering the unusually erroneous expression commented on above, is the more probable alternative or the *paurṇamî* which in meantime ended at ·97 of the day on *Tuesday*, was brought up to sunrise on *Wednesday* owing either to local time or to a peculiarity of local calculation. I think, however, ba. 1 was meant.

*** Mâravarman Tribh. Sundara Pâṇḍya.**

(Reign began 19 Feb. and 6 Mar. A. D. 1294.)

1911 (342). From the west wall of the central shrine in the Muṉkuḍumîśvara temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District). Gift of land for offerings to the same temple by Kâkkunâyakaṉ one of the Kaikkôḷars of the temple. Mentions Gaṅgaikoṇḍasôḷa-chaturvêdimaṅgalam.

Date.—14th year of Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya, Mêsha, su. 13 ; Sunday ; "Chitra" = Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 1307, when Mêsha, su. 13 ended at ·66 of day, while "Chitra" ended at ·39 next day, having been current for the greater part of Sunday.

1911 (343). From the north wall of the central shrine in the Muṉkuḍumîśvara temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District). Gift of land for offerings by Âḷuḍaiyanâyakaṉ, another Kaikkôḷa of Muṉkuḍumîśvara temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District).

Date.—14th year of Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya ; Mîna ; su. 1 ; Monday; "Rêvatî."

On Monday, 6 March A.D. 1307, Mîna su. 2 and "Rêvatî" ended at ·82 and ·47 of the day respectively ["su. 1" error for "su. 2"].

1911 (344). From the north wall of the central shrine in the Muṉkuḍumîśvara Temple at Kaḷattur (Chingleput District). Gift of land [for offerings] by Mallâṇḍai, a third Kaikkôḷa of the same temple. The donors in Nos. 342 and 343 were his brothers.

Date.—14th year of Mâravarman Sundara Pâṇḍya ; Kumbha ; śukla........; Monday ; Uttara-Âshâḍha.

On Monday, 19 Feb. A.D. 1308, Kumbha ba. 12, and "Uttara-Âshâḍha" ended at ·89 and ·17 of the day respectively [*Śukla* error for *bahula*].

*** Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya.**[1]

(Reign began between 23 June and 24 July 1296).

1900 (78). From the north wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Vêdapurîśwara temple at Ṭiruvottûr (North Arcot District). Gift of 64 Cows and 2 Bulls.

Date.—5th year of Jaṭ. V. Pâṇḍya ; Mithuna ; "Hasta." On Friday 7 July A.D. 1301, su. 1 and Nak. "Pushya" (not "Hasta") ended at ·56 and ·23 of the day.

† 1908 (401). From the north wall of the first *prâkâra* in the Vîḷinâthasvâmin temple at Tiruvîḷimiḻali (Tanjore District). Gift of land by a native of Periyaṅguḍi in Tirunaṟaiyûrnâḍu a sub-division of Kulôttuṅgasôḷa-vaḷanâḍu.

Date.—6th year of Jaṭ. V. Pâṇḍya (no epithet); Kanni ; su. 6 ; Friday ; "Mûla." On Friday 28th Sep. A. D. 1302 which was, however, at the beginning of the 7th and near the end of the 6th year of Vîra Pâṇḍya who suffered the Muhammadan invasion, Kanni su. 6 (it was the last day of Kanni) and Mûla ended at ·10 and ·25 of the day respectively.

[1] Since this article was sent to Press, Prof. Hermann Jacobi of Bonn University has calculated four of these dates (*i. e.* those marked†) relating to the reign of Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya and published them in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI. pp. 137-139. The present results are, however, offered to the public in the form in which they originally stood first because several old dates not furnished to Prof. Jacobi, are here referred to the present reign and secondly because the findings here presented, especially that relating to the probable commencement of the reign, are not invariably those arrived at by Prof. Jacobi.

1906 (45). From the base of the verandah enclosing the central shrine in the temple of Amṛitaghaṭêśvara at Tirukkaḍaiyûr (Tanjore District). Gift of land; *mentions the 41st year (of the king's predecessor ?)* and the shrine of Vikrama-Chôḷîchchuramuḍaiyâr.

Date.—14th year of Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya; (no epithet) [Dhan] ba. 10 Wed.; "Svâti;"

(1) on Wednesday 22nd Dec. 1266, Dhan. ba. 10 and "Śvâti" ended at ·94 and ·44 respectively.

(2) on Wednesday 16 Dec. 1310, Dhan. ba. 10 and "Svâti" ended at ·55 and ·57 respectively.

If the first of these days were the date intended, it would belong to the conqueror of "Îḷam, Koṅgu and Choḷa;" but as no such conquest is explicitly referred to, we may adopt the second date which would then belong to Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya whose reign began in 1296 and lasted till at least 1342. He was the only Vîra Pâṇḍya who could, so far as is known to us, refer in 1310 to a predecessor with 41 years of reign, that is, to his own (natural) father, Mâravarman Kulaśekhara whose reign began in 1268, and who in 1310 was murdered by his legitimate son Sundara Pâṇḍya.

All the remaining dates of this Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya refer to the 40th and subsequent years of his reign. We know from the Muhummadan historians that Sundara Pâṇḍya, after murdering his father Mâravarman Kulaśekhara in 1310, defeated his natural brother Vîra Pâṇḍya but was after wards defeated by the latter with the help of "Manar Barmul," son of the daughter of the murdered Kulaśekhara, and fled to Delhi. Vîra Pâṇḍya's success and restoration to his throne were of brief duration, because in or about 1312 he was attacked and defeated, and the city of Madurâ sacked, by the Muhammadans under Malik Kafur. We are told also that eight Muhammadan Chiefs ruled over the Pâṇḍyan kingdom from 1310 till about 1358, and there is among the Pudukkottai dates a Hejra date A. H. 732 (=A.D. 1331-32). About 1340, however, the work of the reconstruction and reconsecration of the temples desecrated by the Muhammadan occupation was taken up under the auspices of Vîra Pâṇḍya, who now reappears on the scene, always dating his reign from July 1296 when he seems to have been installed by his father as co-regent of the Pâṇḍyan Dominions.

† 1908 (122). From the east wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Tiruttaḷîśvara temple at Tirupputtûr (Madurâ District). Sale of privileges pertaining to *pâḍikkâval* by the *sabhâ* of Tirupputûr (Madura District) to Avaiyaṉ *alias* Mâḷavachakravartin of Sûraikkuḍi.

Date.—44th year of Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya; 5th Dhanus; su. 1; Thursday, "Mûla."

On Thursday, 2 Dec. 1339 (= 5 Dhanus) su. 1 and "Mûla" ended at ·51 and ·26 respectively.

1906 (393). From the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Satyagirinâtha-Perumâḷ temple at Tirumaiyam (Pudukkottai). Records the sale of all rights connected with *pâḍikâval*.

Date.—4 [5th] year of Jaṭ. Tribh. Vîra Pâṇḍya (no epithet); Dhanus; ba. 8; Wed. "Hasta."

On Wednesday 13 Dec. 1340, ba. 8; and "Hasta" ended at ·23 and ·28 respectively.

† 1908 (119). From the east wall of the first prâkâra of the Tiruttaḷîśvara temple at Tirupputtûr (Madurâ District). Records that Avaiyaṉ Periya Nâyaṉâr *alias* Viśâlayadêva, a native of Kuraikkuḍi irrigated by (the river) Têṉâṟu in Adaḷaiyûr-nâḍu, consecrated again the image in the temple of Tiruttaḷîyâṇḍa-Nâyaṉâr which had been polluted by the occupation of the Muhammadans.

Date.—46th year of Jaṭ. Tribh. Vîra Pâṇḍya; 14 Kaṭaka; Monday; su. 5; "Uttara Phâlgunî." On Monday 12 July 1339, su. 5 and "Uttara Phâlgunî" ended at ·22 and ·006 respectively; but the day of the solar month was 15 Kaṭaka not 14th [Regnal year 46 is apparently an error for 44]. At p. 138 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, Prof. Jacobi gives 2 Aug. 1339 as the equivalent of this date; but as he agrees with me as to the day of the solar month, his "2 Aug." must be a *lapsus calami* for "12 July."

(The Epigraphist, on reading the impression again in my presence, was of opinion that the recorded year was clearly 46).

† 1908 (120). From the east wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Tiruttaḷîśvara temple at Tirupputtûr (Madurâ District). Records the Muhammadan occupation of the temple and its consecration by Viśâlayadêva mentioned in No. 49. He was on this account given certain special privileges in the temple by the priests of the temple.

Date.—44th year of Jaṭ. Vîra Pâṇḍya; 21 Mithuna; su. 12; Sund.; "Anurâdha."

[Reference to Muhammadan occupation commented on in *Ept's. Rept.*, 1908-09, p. 82]
Sunday 16 June 1342 (=21 Mithuna); su. 12 and "Anurâdha" ended at ·49 and ·77.
[Regnal year should be 46, not 44].

(The Epigraphist read the impression again in my presence and was of opinion that the regnal year may be 46 or 49, not 44).

*** Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya.**

(Reign began between 29 Aug. 1302 and 28 Aug. 1303).

1902 (580). From the west of the kitchen in the Kâlîśvara temple at Kâḷaiyâr Kôvil (Madurâ District) Gift of land.

Date.—[1] year of Jaṭ. Sund. Pâṇḍya; Simha 31, ba 3; Wed. . . . . . . *"vati nâl."* On Wed. 28 Aug. 1314 (=31 Simha) ba. 3 and *nakshatra* "Aśvinî" (Tamil, *Aśvati*) ended at ·89 and ·47; respectively of the day.

Mâravarman Kulaśekhara II.

(Reign began between 6th and 29th March 1314.)

1902 (595). From the inner *gôpura* of the Prêmapurîśvara temple at Aṉbil (Trichinopoly District), right of entrance. Incomplete.

Date year opp. [3rd] of Mâravarman Kulaśekhara II. Rishaba ; 13th . . . . tithi; Wed.; "Svâti."

On Wednesday 5 May, A.D. 1316, Rishabha su. 13 and "Svâti" *commenced*, ending at ·09 and ·40 respectively on Thursday. [Regnal year should be "year opp. (2nd) not "year opp. (3rd)"].

1903 (119). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Ṭilakêśvara temple at Dêvîpaṭṭaṇam (Madurâ District). Mutilated at the beginning.

Date.—year opp. 2nd of Kulaśekhara . . . . Pâṇḍya "who conquered every country ;" . . . . . . 8th tithi; Sat. ; "Rôhiṇî" . On Saturday, 19 Feb. 1317, Phâlguna su. 8 and "Rôhiṇî" ended at ·92 and ·25 respectively.

——. From the outer wall, (above the *gômukhî*) of the inner *prâkâra* enclosing the *garbhagṛiha* of the Kuttalîśvara temple at Kuṟṟâlam (or Courtallam, Tinnevelly District)

Date 7th (?) year of Mâravarman Kulaśekhara; 13 Kumbha; su. 8; Friday; day of "Rôhini."

On Friday 5 Feb. A. D. 1321, which was 13 Kumbha, śukla 8 and "Roihni" ended respectively at·59 and·93 of day. The regnal year looks like "4th" in the impression but is really "7th," which fact was verified by the writer's friends at Kuṟṟâlam.

1907 (126). From the north wall of the kitchen in the Siddhajñânêśvara temple at Pâpâṅgulam (Tinnevelly District). Sale of land to the temple of Karutt-aṟindumuḍitta-Pâṇḍi [Sa] ramuḍaiya Nâyaṉâr, here said to be in Sêṟaṉai-Veṉṟâṉ-tirumaḍaivilâgam situated in Muḷḷinâḍu.

Date.—8th year of Mâravarman Tribh. Kulaśekhara "who took every country ;" Tula "[1] 2" ; su. 9 ; Wednesday ; "Sravaṇa."

On Wednesday 30 Sep. 1321 (=2 Tula), su. 9 and "Sravaṇa" ended at ·72 and ·97 respectively.

The reading *12 Tula,* which I believe to be an error for *2 Tula,* gives rise to the following observations :—The epithet "who took every country" may seem to relegate this date to the reign of Mâr. Kulaśekhara I. The interval between the initial years of the two Kulasekharas being 46 years, it follows that lunar *tithis* and *nakshatras* are likely to occur at the same time of the solar year in either reign. (*Vide* sec. 228 of my *Indian Chronology.*) Moreover, if a *tithi* falls this year on 2nd Tula, it must have fallen last year on or about 12th Tula, so that *per se* a particular *tithi* and *nakshatra,* due on the 2nd Tula this year, would, ordinarily, have occurred 47 years ago on 12th Tula. Nevertheless, no suitable date, satisfying all the chronological details in the inscription, has been found in the reign of Mâr. Kulaśekhara I. except A.D. 1274, which however, was only the 7th year of that reign (not the 8th). On Wednesday 10th October A. D. 1274 (=13 Tula, not 12 Tula) Tula su. 9 *commenced* at ·08 of the day, ending next day at ·14, while *nakshatra* Sravaṇa ended at ·55 on Wednesday.

N. B.—This inscription is on the north wall of a temple kitchen, while the next, No. 125, is on the west wall.

1907 (125). From the west wall of the kitchen in the Siddhajñânêśvara temple at Pâpângulam (Tinnevelly). Sale of land to the temple of Karutt-arindu-muḍitta Pâṇḍi [Sa]ramuḍaiya Nayaṉâr.

Date.—8th year of Mâravarman . . . Tribh. Kulaśekhara; Dhanus 11; ba . . . . ; Tuesday, "Svâti."

On Tuesday 15th December 1321 (=19 Dhanus) ba. 10 ended at ·13 and "Svâti" at ·24 of the day.

[The inked impression of the inscription was read again in my presence by the Epigraphist, and the conclusion come to by him was that the solar day of the month could be read either as "11" or as "19." The latter reading suits the other chronological details which are clear.]

1907 (149). From the south wall of the shrine of the goddess in the Siva temple at Pûvâlaikkuḍi (Pudukkoṭai State). Gift of the village of Pûvâlaikkuḍi. Mentions the festival called Maramâṇikkaṉ-sandi and a certain Sôlai-Kalyilâyamuḍaiyâṉ *alias* Kalikaḍinda Pâṇḍiyadêvar. The temple is called Uḍaiyâr Tiruppûvâlaikkuḍi-uḍaiya-Nâyaṉâr in Vaḍaparrunâḍu including Sevvalûr, a sub-division of Kûḍalûr-nâḍu, a district of Ten-kôṇâḍu.

Date.—16th year of Mâr. Kulaśekhara "who took every country;" Vṛiśchika; su. 5; Wednesday, "Rêvatî."

On Thursday, 25 January, 1330, **Kumbha** [not Vṛiśchika], su. 5 and Rêvatî ended at ·20 and ·18 respectively; in other words they were current for the greater part of **Wednesday**, 24 January, on which they commenced at ·10 and ·07 respectively [*Vṛiśchika*, error for *Kumbha*].

[The Epigraphist, at p. 78 of his Annual Report for 1907-08, identifies this prince with Mâr. Kulaśekhara I, but the date does not suit the 16th regnal year of that reign].

On Wednesday, 3 Nov. 1283, Vṛischika, su. 12 (not *sukla* 5) and Rêvatî ended at ·71 and ·71 respectively.

On Wednesday, 31 Oct. 1286, Vṛiśchika, su. 12 (not *śukla* 5) and "Rêvatî" ended at ·66 and ·96 respectively.

These dates would answer for the 16th and 19th years of Mâravarman Kulaśekhara I (16 and 19 being easily confounded in Tamil writing with each other); but *śukla* 5 for *śukla* 12 is not an error so readily accounted for as *Vṛiśchika* for *Kumbha*.

*** Jaṭâvarman Tribh. Parâkrama Pâṇḍya.**

(Reign began between 15 April and 10 August 1315.)

1906 (395). From the west wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Satyagirinâtha-Perumâḷ temple at Tirumaiyam (Pudukkoṭṭai State). Incomplete. Sale of land for marriage expenses.

Date.—5th year opp. 7th of Jaṭ. Tribh. Parâkrama Pâṇḍya; Kumbha; ba. 12; Sunday; "Uttara Âshâḍha." On Monday 11 Feb. A. D. 1325, Kumbha ba. 12 and "Uttara Âshâḍha" ended at ·22 and ·11 respectively. In other words, ba. 12 and "Utt. Âsh." were current for the greater part of Sunday, 10 Feb. 1325. [Regnal year should be 10th not 12th].

1894 (17). From the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Pushpavanêśvara shrine at Tiruppûvaṇam (Madura District). Gift of land.

Date.—(Wrongly assigned in App. to *Annual Report* for 1894-95 to Konerinmaikondan's 8th year) 9th year of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya; Simha su. 8; Wednesday, "Anurâdha." On Wednesday 10 Aug. A.D. 1323, Simha su. 8 and "Anurâdha" ended at ·48 and ·45 respectively.

*** Tribh. Kulaśêkharadêva.**

[23 July A.D. 1166 fell in his 5th year. This must have been the Kulaśekharâ who waged a prolonged war against Parâkramabâhu of Ceylon. Tirupputtûr is one of the places mentioned in the *Mahavamso* as having been visited by Lankâpura, the Ceylonese General.]

1908 (101). From the Tiruttaḷîsvara temple at Tirupputtûr (Madura District.)

Date.—Year opposite the 4th of Tribh. Kulaśekharadêva, "27th day of Karkataka "Rohiṇi;" Saturday. In *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, at p. 137 the Epigraphist notes that the date of the inscription, as judged by the characters, must be earlier than A. D. 1200. I find that the date was Sat. 23 July A. D. 1166 which was the 27th day of Karkataka. On this day "Rohiṇi" and Srâvaṇa ba. 10 ended at ·70 and ·87 of the day respectively.

THE INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF INDIAN ARTIFICIAL POETRY.

BY G. BÜHLER.

[*Translated by Prof. V. S. Ghate, M. A.; Poona.*]

(*Continued from p. 193.*)

V. The Nâsik-Inscription No. 18, from the ninteenth year of Siri-Puḷumâyi.

A further contribution to the knowledge of the *Kâvya* style of the second century and especially of the poetic ideas and comparisons in vogue at the time is made by the *praśasti* of a cave which was given over to the monks of the Bhadrâyanîya school, in the ninteenth year of the reign of the Andhra king Siri-Puḷumâyi. The date of the inscription can be only approximately determined at present. Nevertheless it must be somewhat older than the Girnâr *praśasti* discussed above. Siri-Puḷumâyi like Chashṭana is, as we know, mentioned by Ptolemäus, under the name of Siro-Polemaios or Siri-Polemios, as the ruler of Baithana, *i. e.*, Paiṭṭhâna or Pratishṭhâna on the Godâvarî river. Accordingly the inscription in question will have to be placed somewhere about the middle of the second century. To the same result leads another circumstance which is put forth by Dr. Bhâû Dâjî in *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 242. According to l. 6 of our inscription, Puḷumâyi's father Gotamîputa Sâtakaṇi extinguished the family of Khakharâta. In the inscriptions of Nâsik,[60] Junnar, and Karle is mentioned a Kshaharâta king and satrap or great satrap Nahapâna, whose son-in-law, the Śaka Ushavadâta or Usabhadâta was a great patron of Brâhmaṇs and Buddhists and made many grants in the western Deccan as well as in Konkaṇ and Kaṭhiâvâḍ, and we are provided with the several dates of his reign, from the year 40 to 46. The similarity of the names Khakharâta and Kshaharâta makes it very probable that they denote one and the same person, a supposition which is also favoured by the circumstance that just the very districts, in which Ushavadâta made his grants, have been mentioned in l. 2 f. our inscription as parts of Sâtakaṇi's dominion.[61] The title satrap or great satrap borne by Nahapâna leads to the further conclusion that he was a dependent prince and the fact that on his coins, the Kharoshṭrî *lipi* is used side by side with the southern alphabet, proves his connection with the north-west where the Indo-Scythians were rulers. We may, therefore, suppose that he, like Rudradâman used the Śaka era, and thus his last date, Saṁvat 46, would correspond to A.D. 124/5. Very probably his unfortunate war with Sâtakaṇi took place soon after this year. According to his inscriptions,[62] Sâtakaṇi ruled for at least 24 years, and extinguished the Kshaharâta king and satrap before the eighteenth year of his reign. For, the Nâsik inscription No. 13, bearing this year, disposes of a village in the district of Govardhana,[63] which had in earlier times belonged to the dominion of Nahapâna. If then we assume that the battle between Nahapâna and Sâtakaṇi took place in the year 47 of the Śaka era used by the former, *i. e.*, in A. D. 125/6, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of the latter, then the year of the writing of our inscription would be A. D. 153/4, by adding the 9 years of Sâtakaṇi and the 19 years of Puḷumâyi to 125. Of course it is possible that the date in question may be from ten to twelve years earlier or a very few years later even. A later date than this does not seem to be probable, because the mention of Puḷumâyi's name in Ptolemäus shows that he must have been on the throne a long time before A. D. 151, the date of the completion of the Geography.[64]

If we accept these conjectures which at least possess a very high probability, then our inscription is about twenty years older than the *praśasti* of the Sudarśana Lake; and its style must be regarded as a proof for the growth of *kâvya* in the middle of the second century. Although it is

[60] *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV., p. 99-103 (Nos. 5—11).

[61] See especially Inscription No. 20, in which a village given as a present by Usabhadâta is again given away by an Andhraking. *Arch. Sur. W. India*, Vol. IV., p. 103 (No. 6) and p. 112-113 (No. 20).

[62] *Arch. Sur. W. India*, Vol. IV., p. 103 (No. 14, last line.)

[63] *Ibid.* p. 105, where 14 is to be corrected to 18.

[64] Compare also Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's remarks in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 20 ff. where the date of the Inscription is placed somewhat earlier. In several particulars, I can not agree with Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar.

composed in on old Prakrit very much nearer to Pâli, still the results that may follow from its examination would of course be equally applicable to Sanskrit Poetry ; as there exists no separating barrier between Prakrit and Sanskrit *kâvyas*. As far as the information provided by the *Alaṁkâra-śâstra* goes, both Sanskrit and Prakrit compositions are regarded as branches of a common stem and are both bound by the same laws. Accordingly we find that all the known Prakrit *kâvyas* are composed in obedience to the same canons as are written in Sanskrit. They present the same varieties of style and the same *alaṁkâras*, and it happens not seldom that one and the same author uses both Prakrit and Sanskrit. Even the author of our inscription must have known Sanskrit and been expert in Sanskrit *kâvya* also, because he appears to be guilty of some Sanskriticisms. The compound *Vijhachhavanta*° (l. 2) appears to be but a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Vindhyarkshavat*, since the Greek form οὐξεγιος shews that the Prakrit name of the Ṛikshavat began with *u*. Another apparently Sanskrit *saṁdhi* is found in °*Kesavâjuna*° (l. 8), where the rule of the Prakrit demands °*Kesavajuna*°, *i. e.*, °*Kesavajjuna*°. So also the form *pitupatiyo* (l. 11) occurring in a writing of such a late date, must be looked upon as only an archaic imitation of *pitṛipatnyoḥ*. As far as I know this is the only instance of a genitive in the dual number, which has been entirely lost even in older Prakrit literature. It is even possible that the inscription might have been at first composed in Sanskrit and then translated or transliterated, as the Prakrit, which resembled Pâli, was then, as even in much later times, the official language in southern India.[65] Whatever may be the case, so much is certain that the author was acquainted with the Sanskrit language as well as the Sanskrit literature.

His work is a *gadyaṁ kâvyam* like the Girnâr inscription discussed above and belongs to the class of *praśastis*. After the date given in quite an official manner, there follows the description of the king of kings Gotamiputa Sâtakaṇi written in a high poetic style, which together with the shorter praise of his mother Gotamî Balasirî and of the cave prepared by her, in all, covers eight lines and a half, and altogether makes a gigantic sentence. Then there come at the end two short sentences which say that the Queen gave away the cave to the Bhadrâyanîya monks and that her grandson Puḷumâyi assigned the village Piśâchîpadraka for the preservation of the sculpture and pictures. In these concluding sentences, the language is quite business-like ; but even there we find some figures on a small scale made use of. In the first of these, the mother is described by means of three epithets giving rise to alliteration, *mahâdevî mahârâjamâtâ mahârâjapatâmahî*, in the second the king is spoken of not by name but as *mahâdevîya ajjakâya sevâkâmo piyakâmo ṇa-[tâ Sakaladakhiṇâ]pathesaro*, 'the grandson ever willing to serve and please the Queen the grand-mother, the lord of the whole of the Deccan.' Thus even here the author does not forget his profession altogether.

As for the first and the main part of the *praśasti*, its style entirely resembles that of the Girnâr *praśasti* in that long compounds are used to bring out *ojas* or the force of language. These run on almost exclusively from l. 2 to l. 6 ; then in l. 7, the almost breathless reader is favored with a resting pause, in as much as only short words are used. In the last line and a half of the description of the king, the poet again takes a new leaf and uses towards the end the longest compound which contains sixteen words with forty-three letters (*pavanagaruḷa ityâdi*). The *Anuprâsa* is more liberally made use of, as is the case with the Girnâr *praśasti*. Thus we have in l. 2 °*asika-asaka*,° in l. 3 °*pavatapatisa, divasakara kara*° °*kamalavimala*,° in the last parts of the compounds in l. 3 °*sâsanasa*, °*vadanasa vâhanasa*, °*dasanasa*, and many more similar expressions. In one point, however, the Nâsik inscription differs from the Girnâr *praśasti*. While the latter disdains the use of the conventional similes of court poets, these are found in our *praśasti* in a very large number and sometimes very striking too. Just the very first epithet of the king *Himavata-Meru-Madara-pavata-sama-sârasa* 'whose essence resembles that of the mountains Himavat, Meru, and Mandara, is conceived quite in the *kâvya* style. Thus the author shows that the comparisons of the king with these mountains so favourite in later times were in vogue even in his day. What he, in reality, means by the phrase in question is that Sâtakaṇi was possessed of

[65] See on this my remarks on the Prakrit Pallava Land-Grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 4 f.

great treasures, like the Himâlaya, that he was the central point of the world, and overshadowed the same with his might, like the Meru, and that like the Mandara which was used as a churning rod by gods at the time of churning out nectar, he knew how to bring to light and to acquire for himself Lakshmî, the *Fortuna regum.*

The correctness of this explanation can be easily demonstrated. For, the idea that the Himâlaya hides within himself immeasurable treasures has been prevalent amongst the Indian people since a very old time, and it finds its expression in mythology, in that the abode of Kubera is located in the Himâlaya. To the court poets, the idea that riches are the *sâra* of the Himâlaya is so obvious that at times they do not express it at all, but only hint at the same. Thus Kâlidâsa says in *Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 79 :—

परस्परेण विज्ञातस्तेषूपायनपाणिषु ।
राज्ञा हिमवतः सारो राज्ञः सारो हिमाद्रिणा ॥

'As the (Gaṇas) (came) with presents in their hands, they understood each other's essence; the king, that of the Himâlaya (*i. e.*, his riches, and the Himâlaya that of the king (*i. e.*, his might.)'

Equally old and generally prevalent is the conception that the mountain Meru is the centre of the world; and kings are very frequently compared with the same, in *kâvyas*, in order to illustrate their great might. Thus, in the beginning of the *Kâdambarî*, Bâṇa says (p. 5. l. 11, Peterson's edition) of the king Śûdraka:—

मेरुरिव सकलभुवनोपजीव्यमानपादच्छायः

'He resembles Meru in that all the worlds live in the shadow of his feet,' *i. e.*, are preserved through his protection, just as they live in the shadow of the spur of the mountain. The comparison is also found in the inscriptions, *e.g.*, in the *praśasti* which forms a prelude to the grant of land made by the Chaulukya king Mûlarâja I. It is said there[66] (l. 3):—मेरुरिव सर्वदा मध्यस्थः। 'He resembles Meru, in that he is always *madhyastha*, *i.e.*, the centre of the world, and impartial.'

As for the mountain Mandara, it is one of the most well-known myths, according to which it served gods as a churning-rod, at the churning of the milk-ocean. As on that occasion, Lakshmî, the goddess of wealth, came out, and she is often described as the representative of the royal power and splendour and even as the consort of kings, the kings themselves are often compared with the Mandara mountain in order to hint at the idea that they churn out Fortune from the ocean of the enemies. Thus in *Śrî-Harshacharita*, p. 227, l. 7 (Kaśmîr edition) Bâṇa says, while describing the king Pushyahûti, that he was मन्दरमय इव लक्ष्मीसमाकर्षणे 'Mandara-like in drawing out Lakshmî.' This same thought is further elaborated in verse 7 of the Aphsaḍ *praśasti*,[67] a composition of the seventh century, written in a high Gauḍa style, where it is said of the king Kumâragupta :—

भीमः श्रीशानवर्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोदसिन्धुर्लक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरीभूय येन ॥

'Who became Mandara and immediately churned out the terrible army of the illustrious Îśânavarman, a moon amongst princes, the army, which was the means of the acquisition of Fortune, and thus resembled the milk-ocean.' A still more artificial representation of the simile is found in the *praśasti*[68] of the Râṭhor king Govinda II, verse 3, belonging to the beginning of the ninth century. I have explained it fully in the translation of the passage.

In the face of these facts, it can not be doubted, that the author of the Nâsik inscription intended to say or to hint all that is contained in the explanation given above;[69] and when we see that he dares to express himself in such an extraordinarily concise manner and is content with only

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66 See *Ante*, Vol. VI. p. 191. My translation as given there mentions only the second meaning of *madhyastha*. It is, however, not improbable that the writer also means to say that Mûlarâja was the centre of the world, although the expression cannot apply to a petty ruler who possessed only a few miles of land. Such considerations, however, have no weight with a court-poet.

67 *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 203, l. 7.

68 *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 65.

69 It is just possible that he had in view even other less important qualities of the mountains named here. Thus, as the Meru is the abode of the *vibudha* or the gods, and as *vibudha* also means 'a wise man', the comparison of the king with the Meru may imply a compliment to the effect that the king was surrounded by wise councillors and learned men. Compare, for instance, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 14, l. 1 मेरुरिव विबुधालयः,

alluding to the *sâra* of the three mountains, we cannot but suppose that inthe first place he knew all the myths in question and in the second place that the comparisons of kings with these mountains were in vogue then ; for otherwise the expression in question would have been quite unintelligible to the hearer. The comparisons involved in the epithets in the next lines 3-4 are some of them so familiar that it is unnecessary to demonstrate their occurrence in the *kâvyas*. This is the case, for instance, with the phrase *divasakara-kara-vibodhita-kamala-vimala-sadisa-vadanasa*, 'whose face resembles a spotless lotus which the sun's rays have awakened (from the nocturnal sleep)', of which we should only remark that the use of the word *kara*, which also means 'hand,' is not unintentional. Equally commonplace is the comparison in *paṭipuṇa-chada-maḍala-sasirîka-piya-dasanasa* 'whose appearance is lovely and lustrous like the disc of the full moon.' What is, of course, meant is that the face of the king shines like the full moon. But as the face has been spoken of before, the author uses *dasana* for *vadana* and thus varies somewhat the usual idea. Lastly, no examples are necessary for *varavâraṇavikamachâruvikamasa*, 'whose gait is beautiful like that of a lordly elephant,' and *bhujagapatibhogapînavaṭavipuladighasudarabhujasa*, 'whose arms strong, round, massive, long and beautiful like the coils of the prince of serpents.' With regard to the last epithet it must be observed, in the meanwhile, that the author has taken great troubles to give a new unusual form to the old comparison of the arm of a warrior with a serpent, already very usual in the epics. For this purpose, he mentions the serpent-prince Śesha instead of some other favourite serpent, and piles together a number of adjectives. The first of these things is often done by court poets; *e. g.*, in *Raghuvaṁśa* XIV. 31, Kâlidâsa describes Râma as *Sarpâdhirâjorubhuja*. Somewhat more rare is the absurd notion in *ti-samuda-toya-pîta-vâhanasa* 'whose armies drink the water of the three oceans,' though sanctioned by the usage of Indian poets. Similar expressions are now and then met with in panegyrics and *praśastis*, with a view to suggest that the victorious armies have pressed forward to the shores of the ocean. A rhetorician remarks that the water of the ocean would never be drunk. But nevertheless the poets very frequently use expressions like the one above, which, therefore, cannot be looked upon as involving a breach of *auchitya*.[70]

The following lines contain nothing useful for our purpose. Their object is to represent Sâtakaṇi as a ruler who lived up to the rules of *Nîtiśâstra*. On the other hand, the short epithets in l. 7 remind us of several passages in the descriptions of heroes and heroines by Bâṇa who also frequently interrupts the long-winded compounds and the tiring rows of comparisons, in quite a similar manner, and now and then makes use of similar expressions in such cases. The rightness of what we say will be best shown by placing this part of the inscription side by side with a passage, in Bâṇa's *Kâdambarî*, from the description of the king Śûdraka[71] :—

आगमान निलयस सपुरिसान असयस सिरीय अधिठानस उपचारान पभवस एककुसस एकधनुधरस एकसुरस एकबम्हणस ।	कर्ता महाधर्माणामाहर्ता क्रतूनामादर्शः सर्वशास्त्राणामुत्पत्तिः कुलानां कुलभवनं गुणानामागमः काव्यामृतरसानामुदयशैलो मित्रमण्डलस्योत्पातकेतुरहितजनस्य प्रवर्तयिता गोष्ठीबन्धानामाश्रयो रसिकानां प्रत्यादेशो धनुष्मतां धौरेयः साहसिकानामग्रणीर्विदग्धानाम् ।

Of course Bâṇa's expressions are much more choice, and they show a considerable advance in the development of the style. Nevertheless, a certain similarity is unmistakable and the reason why simpler epithets are inserted in the midst of more complicate ones is no doubt the same in both the cases. In l. 8, we meet with two long compounds which compare Sâtakaṇi with the heroes of *Mahâbhârata* as well as with the kings of yore described in that work:—'Whose bravery was similar to that of Râma (Halabhṛit), Keśava, Arjuna and Bhîmasena,' and 'whose lustre resembled that of Nâbhâga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Saṁkara, Yayâti, Râma (of the Raghu race) and Ambarîsha.' Further these two compounds are separated, certainly not without intention, by another epithet inserted between them. Comparisons with the kings of epic tales are as a rule used by Subandhu and Bâṇa, in the descriptions of their heroes, who, however, work them out in a far finer way. They bring out the similarity in particular points by means of a *ślesha* on every

[70] See, for instance, the Udepur *praśasti*, verse 10; *Ep. Ind.*, p. 234. The name of the rhetorician I have unfortunately not noted. [71] *Kâdambarî* p. 5, l. 12—16; compare also *Kâdambarî* p. 56, l. 7—8.

name or they show that their heroes surpass by far the old heroes, in that they go more deeply into the original.[72] Here, in our inscriptions, we have to do with the beginnings of a development which reached its high point certainly in the seventh century, or perhaps even much earlier.

To the great significance of the immediately following passage, I have already alluded (the *Sâhasâṅkacharita*, of Padmagupta p. 48 ff.) :—' Who, standing in the forefront defeated the hosts of his enemies, in a battle in which, in a manner immeasurable, eternal, incomprehensible and marvellous, the wind, Garuḍa, the Siddhas, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Vidyâdharas, Bhûtas, Gandharvas, Châraṇas, the sun, the moon, stars and planets took part.'[73] It is just the oldest instance of a mixture of history and mythology, so usual in the later court poets. As Bilhaṇa repeatedly makes Śiva to interfere in the fortunes of his patron Vikramâditya, or as Hemachandra surrounds his master Jayasiṁha-Siddharâja with supernatural beings, or as Padmagupta-Parimala reduces the history of the life of Siddharâja to a pure myth, so has here our author given heavenly powers as confederates to the father of his master. This passage thus provides us with an interesting point of connection between our inscription and the style of narration of the court poets. About the meaning of the next phrase, unfortunately we are not sure, as the first letter can be read as *nâ* or *ṇa*. If we read *ṇagavarakhadhâ gaganatalam abhivigâḍhasa*, as is most probably the case, then it would be rendered thus :—' Who towered up higher in heaven than the shoulder of a great mountain, or the trunk of a grand tree.'[74] With this we may compare *Raghuvaṁśa* XVIII, 15, where it is said of king Pâriyâtra:—

उच्चैःशिरस्त्वाज्जितपारियात्रं लक्ष्मीः सिषेवे किल पारियात्रम्।

' Fortune resorted, indeed, to (the king) Pâriyâtra, the height of whose head surpassed (the mountain) Pâriyâtra.'

If, on the other hand, we read *nâgavarakhadhâ*, then we must translate :—' Who went up into the heaven from the shoulder of his lordly elephant.' The meaning then would correspond to that of verse 20 in the Lakkâ Maṇḍal *praśasti*,[75] where it is said of Chandragupta, the consort of the princess Îśvarâ of Siṅghapura :—

भर्तरि गतवति नाकं करिणः स्कन्धात् . . . . ।

' As her husband ascended to heaven, from the shoulder of his elephant' . . . . .

These words describe Chandragupta's death, and would mean that he fell from an elephant, and had his neck broken, or that he, while fighting on elephant-back in the battle, met with a hero's death, or perhaps that he exchanged the splendour of the earthly life of a prince for heaven. The second alternative seems to be the most probable. At any rate the passage referring to Sâtakaṇi will have to be understood thus, in case the reading *nâga*° is the correct one.

In the remaining lines, we have first, the praise of the queen Gotamî Balasirî, ' who, in every way, acted worthy of her title "the wife of a royal sage"; secondly, the very bold, though improper, comparison of the mountain Triraśmi with a peak of the Kailâsa mountain, and lastly the assurance that the cave possessed a magnificence which equalled that of a lordly palace of gods. All these three notions are most usual in *kâvyas*. Instances of the third have been already mentioned by us above on p. 142.

What we have said so far should quite suffice to prove that the Nâsik-inscription No. 18, also, bears a close relationship with the *gadya kâvyas* preserved for us, and that it especially contains many comparisons current in the latter. It must, however, be repeated that this *praśasti* occupies a considerably lower rank than the prose parts in Harisheṇa's *kâvya*, and is still less artificial than the works of Subandhu, Bâṇa, and Daṇḍin.

(*To be continued.*)

[72] Compare, for instance, *Vâsavadattâ* p. 15; p. 22, l. 1; p. 27, l. 3; p. 122, l. 4—5 and especially the passage from the *Harshacharita* referred to by Dr. Cartellieri, *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. I, p. 126.

[73] Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar and Dr. Bhagvânlâl translate *vichiṇa*—which I have freely rendered as 'in which—took part',—by 'witnessed'. The reason why I do not follow this meaning is that no examples of this meaning accepted by the two gentlemen are known to me; on the contrary, *Yuddhaṁ vichar* 'to fight a battle' is given in the Petersburg Lexicon.

[74] The ablative implies here, as is often the case in Sanskrit, that the Positive form has the sense of the Comparative.

[75] *Ep. Ind.*, p. 13.

MISCELLANEA.

MATACHI: A DRAVIDIAN WORD IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

COL. JACOB, in a paper contributed to the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1911, p. 510, makes two interesting suggestions regarding the word *maṭachî* occurring in the *Chhândogya-Upanishad 1, 10, 1*, मटचीहतेषु कुरुषु &c., which is explained by some commentators as रक्तवर्णाः क्षुद्रपक्षिविशेषाः Col. Jacob says, that "these red-coloured winged creatures are no other than locusts" and that the word *maṭachî* "looks like an importation from outside Âryâvarta."

It is interesting to note that both of these suggestions are confirmed by the fact that *maṭachî* is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Dravidian word *miḍichi* or *miḍiche*, meaning locusts, which is used at the present day in the Dharwar District. Mr. Kittel, in his Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, explains the word *miḍiche* thus: "that which hops, a grass hopper; a locust." According to the same authority the word appears as *miḍutha* in Telugu, as *viṭṭal* or *veṭṭal* in Malayâlam, and as *veṭṭukkiḷi* in Tamil. The word is obviously derived from the root *miḍi*, to hop.

Mr. Kittel in the introduction to his Dictionary gives a very long list of so-called Sanskrit words, which are really Dravidian. But in compiling this list he seems to have drawn exclusively upon classical Sanskrit, *Maṭachî* is thus the only Dravidian word as yet discovered in Vedic literature.

K. B. PATHAK.

SANKARACHARYA'S REFERENCE TO JAYADITYA.

IN his commentary on the *Chhândogya-Upanishad 1, 1, 4,* when elucidating the expression कतमा कक् Sankarâchârya quotes the well-known *sûtra* वा बहूनां जातिपरिप्रश्ने डतमच् [Pâṇini V, 3, 93] and says that the compound जातिपरिप्रश्न in this *sûtra* should be treated as a locative and not a genitive compound, and continues :—

It may be contended that the illustration given in the commentary on this *sûtra*, namely, कतमः कठ इत्याद्युदाहरणम् does not favour our view. But we reply that even this illustration is in perfect harmony with our view, if the question relates to the individuals composing the Kaṭha *śâkhâ*. Sankarâchârya's words are :—

ननु जातेः परिप्रश्न इत्यस्मिन्विग्रहे कतमः कठ इत्याद्युदाहरण मुपपन्नं जातौ परिप्रश्न इत्यत्रतु न युज्यते। तत्रापि कठादिजातावेव व्यक्तिबहुत्वाभिप्रायेण परिप्रश्न इत्यदोषः ।

Ânandajñâna explains this thus:

अस्मदिष्ट विग्रहापरिग्रहे वृत्तिकारीयमुदाहरणं विरुध्यते। कठशब्दस्य व्यक्तिविशेषत्वाभावादिति शङ्कते नन्विति । उदाहरणेपि सत्यां कठजातौ तद्व्यक्तिबाहुल्यात्तदन्यतमनिर्धारणाभिप्रायेण परिप्रश्ने डतम जित्यङ्गीकारान्न परोक्तोदाहरण विरोधोऽस्मत्पक्षेऽस्तीति परिहरति तत्रापीति ।

Chhândogya-Up. Ânandâśrama Ed., p. 10

Here वृत्तिकारीयमुदाहरणं means the illustration given by the Kâśikâ-vṛittikâra Jayâditya, who died in A. D. 661, and whose words referred to above are :—

कतमो भवतां कठः

Kâśikâ-vṛitti, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 94.

Sankarâchârya omits the word भवतां and indicates this by using the expression इत्यादि thus: कतमः कठ इत्याद्युदाहरणम्. It may be stated here that Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, as interpreted by Kaiyaṭa, hold that the words जातिपरिप्रश्न should be left out of the *sûtra* as unnecessary, and therefore an illustration of this *sûtra* is given in the *Mahâbhâshya*. The fact that Sankarâchârya quotes the celebrated Buddhist grammarian Jayâditya, who died in the second-half of the seventh century A.D., is so interesting from a literary and historical point of view that it deserves to be brought to the notice of Sanskrit scholars.

K. B. PATHAK.

Poona.

BOOK NOTICE.

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY:—A practical guide to the interpretation and verification of Tithis, Nakshatras, Horoscopes, and other Indian Time-records, from B. C. 1 to A. D. 2000—By DEWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L., LL.B.; published by Grant Co., Madras (1911). Price Rs. 5.

THE present book by Dewan Bahadur S. Pillai dealing with the citation of dates according to the various systems in vogue in India ranging between 1 B. C. and 2000 A. D. fills a longfelt want. Roughly speaking the book may be said to consist of two main divisions—the letter press and the tables. The former gives the preliminary information necessary for an intelligent use of the tables. It explains the relations between Indian Astronomy and Indian Chronology. Chapter XV gives a list of the principal systems of chronology in use in India, along with the mode of calculating the equivalent Christian date therefrom. The catalogue of Hindu festivals in relation to *tithis* given in Chapter XVI is likely to prove of much interest even to the ordinary layman. The three parts, into which the letter-press of the book is actually divided, are so arranged and treated that they gradually develope one into the other, without in the least slackening the interest of the general reader in the study of even such a dry abstruse subject as chronological research.

By far the most important portion of the book—and also the practical one—is the tables given therein. They occupy nearly 250 pages closely bristling with figures. They are twenty-two in all, embodying the various items of value and interest to the historian, the archæologist and chronologist. In these tables the most important one, and of greater practical interest to the ordinary man of the world, is Table X, which enables him to know the exact English equivalent of any date from 1 B. C. to A. D. 2000. In this table also are given the solar years, new moons, and eclipses that occur during this long period of time. The calculations for this period of two thousand years is made according to the mode followed in the *Sûrya-siddhânta* as it is found at present. For the period from A. D. 500 to A. D. 999 the calculation according to the *Âryadsiddhânta* also is given, and this special calculation is valuable owing to the immense influence which the *Arya-siddhânta* enjoyed during this period. Dewan Bahadur S. Pillai's calculation for the period from 1 B. C. to 500 A. D. is made only according to the *Sûrya-siddhânta*. It is accurate and clear, but it is likely to lead the reader to form the wrong impression that *Sûrya-siddhânta* was followed in those days also. Varâhamidhira's *Pañcha-siddhântikâ* no doubt refers to a *Sûrya-siddhânta*, but it was not the *Sûrya-siddhânta* of the present day, from which the author has adopted the mode of calculation in the book. The calculation of the dates prior to 500 A.D. according to the latter-day *Sûrya-siddhânta* is, therefore, not quite in harmony with facts, and is merely a carrying backwards of the process used authentically only for the period from 500 A.D. onwards.

The eye-table appended at the end of the book sums up the results of the preceding tables, and is of great value for obtaining general results. It gives in a remarkably well condensed form almost all the items necessary to determine a date with fair accuracy. But for obtaining a detailed result, the reader must resort to the preceding tables.

Messrs. Dikshit and Sewell's book on Indian Chronology has acquired prominence because it was the first one in the field, but in point of cheapness and utility Dewan Bahadur S. Pillai's present publication in our opinion is much better. To an ordinary man Dikshit and Sewell's book is prohibitive owing to its high price; and consequently there was a longfelt want of a cheap ready-reckoner of dates. Mr. S. Pillai's book, however, meets this want to a remarkable degree. His methods are on the whole generally correct and sound. To workers in the various fields of antiquities and archæology, the present book must prove to be of incalculable value. To the layman also it will be of no small interest, inasmuch as hardly anyone will be found who has not at any time to look up some old date or another. Mr. S. Pillai's book is being constantly used by the *Bhârat-Itihâs-saṁshodhak-maṇḍal* of Poona for verifying dates from Marâṭhâ history. In the course of calculations made for several dates of the Marâṭhâ period, only one inaccuracy was detected. On page 116, the week day of 1st January 1704 ought to be 7 (Saturday) and not 1 (Sunday) as printed in Table X. This is the only misprint so far discovered. But speaking generally, the work is remarkably free from misprints or inaccuracies of any kind, which are too often the besetting sin of books teeming with figures.

Poona. G. S. KHARE.

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Continued from p. 239.*)

APPENDIX. VI.

An Achin Kupang or Five Doit Piece.[99]

Dr. Hanitsch, *J. R. A. S.*, Straits Branch, No. 39, p. 197 f., says that there was found at Malacca in 1900 "a copper coin, probably one *duit*, of the following description:—Obv., coat-of-arms consisting of a crowned shield enclosing a lion rampant, with the figures 5 and 1/16 to the right and left of the shield respectively. Rev., the legend *Indiae Batav 1816.*" That is, the coin bears the arms of the Dutch E. I. Co. and was struck in Batavia. "Coins identical with it, except for the date, were issued by the Batavian Republic previous to the English occupation of Java, and by the Dutch Government after the English occupation, and the Raffles Museum contains such coins of the year 1802, 1818, 1819, 1821 and 1824. The Museum also contains a coin of 1815; that is, a coin struck in Batavia with the Dutch coat-of-arms during the time of the English rule. Therefore it is possible that the above coin of 1816, found at Malacca, may also have been struck under English rule. I cannot offer any explanation of this. A coin of this kind, but of the year 1802, is figured in Netscher and Chijs, pl. VI. fig. 39 (*De Munten van Nederlandisch Indie,* 1863). The figures 5 and 1/16 to the right and left of the shield respectively are somewhat mysterious. Netscher and Chijs (p 108) say they are not able to offer any explanation of their meaning."

The coins in question are dated 1802—1824 and therefore the following quotation from Kelly's *Cambist*, 2nd ed., 1835, Vol. I., p. 97, applies to them. "Acheen in the Island of Sumatra. Accounts are kept in tales, pardows, mace, copangs and cash. A tale is 4 pardows, 16 mace or 64 copangs. The coins of the country are mace and cash. The mace is a small gold coin weighing 9 grains and worth about 14*d* sterling. The cash are small pieces of tin or lead, 2500 of which usually pass for a mace, but this number often varies." This scale of money of account was of long standing in Achin: see Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade*, 2nd ed., 1775, p. 87, who makes almost the same statement as Kelly. It goes back in fact a long way in the Malay countries: see Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, Hak. Soc. ed., p. 280 f., writing about 1675.

From the statements above quoted we can extract the following results:

A. Achin Currency.

40	cash	make	1	kupang
4	kupang	,,	1	mas
4	mas	,,	1	pardao
4	pardao	,,	1	tahil
2560	cash to the tahil			
640	cash to the pardao			

B. Value of mas and pardao.

1	mas	equal	14*d.*
1	pardao	,,	56*d* = 4*s.* 8*d.*

[99] See *ante*, p. 37.

Therefore the *pardao* was a dollar of account (rix dollar, *reichsthaler*) reckoned at 640 cash.

C. Value of the coin.

5	doit (kĕping)	make	1	kupang = 6¼ cents
16	kupang of Achin	,,	1	pardao = 100 cents

Therefore the Achin *kupang* was the *kĕndĕri* of the old Dutch popular currency (see *ante*, p. 86). Therefore also the coins represent the *kupang* (*kĕndĕri*) of Achin, which was 1/16 of a *pardao* or rixdollar of 640 cash, and was worth 5 *duit* (*kĕping*) of 1¼ cent. Hence the figures 1/16 and 5 on the coins.

The coins appear to have been struck for the convenience of the Achin trade, then very important. Historically Achin does not seem to have been so closely under British rule as Java was, during 1811-1816, and on the restoration of Java to the Dutch "a good deal of weight was attached by the neighbouring British Colonies to the maintenance of influence in Achin. In 1819 a treaty of friendship was concluded with the Calcutta Government, which excluded other European nationalities from fixed residence in Achin. When the British Government, in 1824, made a treaty with the Netherlands, surrendering the remaining British settlements in Sumatra in exchange for certain possessions on the continent of Asia, no reference was made in the articles to the Indian treaty of 1819; but an understanding was exchanged that it should be modified, while no proceedings hostile to Achin should be attempted by the Dutch." (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., I. 145). It is quite possible, therefore, that the British Government issued the *kupang* or 5 *doit* piece for the Achin merchants as well as the Dutch Government, and its use of the Dutch arms can be accounted for by the almost universal custom of the retention by a new Government of a well-known, even though inappropriate, design on coins meant for popular use.

The coin is not likely to have been intended for Java currency, as at that time "in the local currency of Java, 10 copper doits made one *wang* (a small silver coin) and 12 *wang* one rupee" (Raffles, *Java* II. Appx., p. 166). Therefore, if intended for Java currency, a coin of 5 doits would equal 1/24 rupee or 1/38 rixdollar, as the rixdollar was then in Java equal to 190 doits (*op. cit.* p. 167). These proportions do not fit in with the statements on the coin.

It is interesting to note that 5 and 1/16 represents a very ancient proportion in India. The oldest copper coinage known there, the *purâṇa*, *paṇa*, *kârshâpaṇa*, or current copper cash, was based according to Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 46, on the cowry by tale, and on the *raktikâ* or *rati* (= *abrus precatorius*) by weight, the cowry being equated to the *rati*. On this basis the tale of the actual copper coinage ran as follows :—

grains	cowries or raktikâs	paṇa	names
9	5	1/16	
18	10	1/8	ardhakâkiṇî
36	20	1/4	kâkiṇî
72	40	1/2	ardhapaṇa
108	60	3/4	
144	80	1	paṇa, kârshâpaṇa

"The old copper punch-marked coins of copper and all the one-die [oldest] coins from Taxila were *paṇas*."

This exhibits a most interesting comparison.

Scale of modern gold coins in Sumatra.		Scale of ancient copper coins in India.
9 grains	= mâs	= 1/4 kâkinî
36 ,,	= pardao	= kâkinî
144 ,,	= tahil	= paṇa, kârshâpaṇa

(*To be continued.*)

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A.; POONA.

(*Continued from Vol. XLII. p.* 163.)

XIX.—Aśoka's Rock Edict I. Reconsidered.

Eleven years ago I contributed a note to the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society[1] on Aśoka's Rock Edict I., and therein showed what the true sense of the word *samâja* was and why it was that the Buddhist monarch spoke of it in an edict connected with the preservation of life. I am glad to find that my view has now been generally accepted.[2] I have, however, since I wrote last about it, found many more references to *samâja*, which are interesting and which throw light, in particular, on the passage *asti pi chu ekachâ samâjâ sâdhumatâ Devânaṁ-priyasa Priyadasino*, which I then was not fully able to comprehend. The last portion of the edict wherein he makes mention of hundreds of thousands of animals slaughtered every day in his royal kitchen was also not quite clear. I, therefore, make no excuse for considering this edict again, and, above all, making a somewhat detailed discussion about the word *samâja*.

I have in my last article on the subject cited a passage from the *Harivaṁśa*, which represents Kṛishṇa to have held in honour of the god Bilvodakeśvara a *samâia*, which "abounded in a hundred (varieties) of meat and curry, was full of diverse (kinds) of food, and surcharged with condiments." *Samâja* was thus a public feast where meat formed one of the principal articles of food served. This is one sense of the term, and doubtless shows why Aśoka took objection to such a kind of *samâja*. But there is another sense of the word which indicates that there was a second kind of *samâja* where no animal life was sacrificed and which could not consequently have been disapproved by him. No less than three descriptions of such *samâjas* I have been able to trace in the Brahmanic literature. One of these has been set forth in the *Harivaṁśa* in verses 4528-4538 and 4642-4658. This *samâja* was called by Kaṁsa in order that his people might witness a wrestling match between Kṛishṇa and Balarâma on the one hand and Châṇûra and Mushṭika on the other. Here the word *samâja* is used synonymously with *raṅga* and *prekshâgâra*, and appears to be a building erected by Kaṁsa for permanent use for entertaining his subjects by the exhibition of public spectacles. The building was at least two-storeyed and divided into a number of compartments with passages running inside. They all faced the east, and were provided each with *mañchas*[3] which were arranged in raised tiers one behind the other. Some of these compartments were specially reserved for the various guilds (*śreṇi*) and classes (*gaṇa*), which on festive occasions decorated them with banners indicative of their profession. The prostitutes had also their own *mañchas* separately. But ladies of the harem were accommodated in the compartments of the upper storey, some of which were furnished with minute lattice windows (*sûkshma-jâla*) and others with curtains (*javanikâ*). The golden *paryaṅkas* and the principal seats were covered with painted cloths (*kuthâ*) and flowers. Drinking pitchers were fixed into the ground at due intervals, and fruits, stimulants (*avadaṁśa*) and ungents (*kashâya*) were provided for. A not forgettable feature of the *samâja* was the offering of *bali*, which has been twice mentioned in this account.

A second description of *samâia* is contained in the *Mahâbhârata*, *Âdiparvan*, chap. 134 and ff. When Droṇa made the young Kaurava and Pâṇḍava princes conversant with the science of arms, he informed Dhṛitarâshṭra of it, who thereupon ordered Vidura to have a public exhibition made

[1] Vol. XXI., p. 392 ff.

[2] Smith's *Aśoka* (2nd edition), p. 156, note; *Early History* of India, p. 165, note 2; Hultzsch in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1911, p. 785.

[3] *Mañcha* no doubt corresponds to the Hindi *mâṁchâ* or Gujarâtî *mâchî*, and denotes a kind of stool or chair *Paryaṅka* was only an elaborate kind of *mañcha*.

of their skill. A *samâja* was accordingly announced to the people. Land, even and free from trees, was selected, and the necessary portion of it measured out, by Droṇa, who also made an offering of *bali*. On the ground so selected the architects of the king raised a *prekshâgâra*. The people made their own *mañchas* and the rich folk their own *śibikâs*. On the day fixed Dhṛitarâshṭra with the ladies of his royal family attended; and what with musical instruments sounding and what with the excitement of the people, the *samâja* was in an uproar like the ocean. There after Droṇa entered the *raṅga*, again offered a *bali*, and caused Brâhmaṇas to pronounce benedictions. Then the whole array of the young princes made their appearance and commenced each showing to the best advantage his proficiency in the military science.

The third description of the *samâja* occurs in the same epic but in chapter 185 and in connection with the *svayaṁvara* of Draupadî. On an even piece of ground, we are told, and to the north-east of Drupada's capital a *samâja* was erected, adorned with walls, moats, doors and arched gateways and covered with a variegated canopy. It abounded with actors (*naṭas*), dancers (*nartakas*), and hundreds of musical instruments (*turyas*) and was made fragrant by the burning of *aguru* sticks and the sprinkling of sandal water. The *mañchas* were occupied by princes come from the different quarters and by people of the capital town and the districts. For sixteen consecutive days the *samâja* was held, and it was concluded on the sixteenth day with the appearance of Draupadî and the hitting of the target by Arjuna.

It will be seen from the above summaries, brief as they are, that the words *samâja*, *raṅga*, and *prekshâgâra* have been used synonymously and that *samâja* sometimes refers even to the concourse of the people assembled there. All the three *samâjas* were held by kings, the first to witness a wrestling match, the second the military manœuvres of the princes, and the third the *svayaṁvara* of a princess. No pains were spared to make the people comfortable and make their amusements complete. *Mañchas* and *paryaṅkas* were set up, and different classes of people had different compartments assigned. Arrangements for drinking water and stimulants were made. Actors, dancers, and musical instruments were also brought in to feast their eyes and ears. The *samâjas* were sometimes permanent structures as in the case of Kaṁsa's *samâja*, and sometimes put up temporarily.

The Brahmanical literature thus tells us that there were two kinds of *samâjas*, one in which amusements for the people were organised and the other in which meat and other food were distributed among them. The same thing we find in Buddhist literature also. In *Vinaya* II. 5.2.6 we are informed that certain Bhikshus attended a *samâja* that was held on a hill at Râjagṛiha and that they were censured by the people because they like ordinary sensual laymen took delight in dancing, vocal and instrumental music that were going on there. Here not the slightest mention has been made of victuals. But *Vinaya* IV. 37.1 has a different account to give. Here also a *samâja* on a hill near Râjagṛiha is spoken of, and certain Bhikshus again mentioned to have gone there. But there was nothing at this place to gratify the eye or the ear. The Bhikshus are represented in this *samâja* to have bathed, smeared themselves with unguents and dined, and also to have taken some victuals for their brethren. The words used here for dining and victuals are *bhojanîya* and *khâdanîya*, which last word the commentator, it is worthy of note, has explained by the term *maṁsaṁ*.

We thus find that both the Brahmanical and Buddhist literatures allude to two classes of *samâja*. In one the people were entertained with dancing, music, and other performances, and in the other with food of which meat formed the most important part. Now, turning to Rock Edict I. let us see what Aśoka's attitude towards *samâja* was. There were some *samâjas* which he condemned outright and in which he saw nothing but evil. On the other hand, there were some which were approved by him. As this edict is devoted to the preservation of animal life, there can

be no doubt, that, the *samâjas*, which the Buddhist emperor tabooed, were those, in which animals were slain to serve meat. And further as there was nothing in the other *samâjas* for Piyadasi to object to, these must have been the *samâjas* which were called *sâdhumatâ* by him. But why should they have been considered excellent by him ? If they were unobjectionable, he should have bestowed neither praise nor condemnation on them. But why were they designated *sâdhumatâ* ? It is not difficult, I think, at least to frame a reply which is plausible. The *samâjas* of the second kind were intended as we have seen for the exhibition of public spectacles. Could Aśoka have given a somewhat different turn to these spectacles and utilised the institution of *samâja* for impressing his people with something that was uppermost in his mind ? If my interpretation[4] of Rock Edict IV. is correct, in all likelihood Piyadasi must have shown to his subjects in these *samâjas* representations of *vimânas*, *hastins* and *agniskandhas*, by means of which he claims to have increased their righteousness. He informs us that the sound of his drum became a sound of righteousness. What is probably meant is that the drum was beaten to announce a *samâja* in which these spectacles were exhibited. After publishing my interpretation of Rock Edict IV, I was revolving in my mind the question where Aśoka could have shown these representations to his people. The idea suddenly struck me that as *samâjas* were *prekshâgâras* which were thronged by all sorts and conditions of men, he could not have done better than used these places for exhibiting these *vimânas*, *hastins*, and so forth. This is the reason, I believe, why *samâjas* of the second class were looked upon favourably by him. That it was the practice of the kings of ancient India to call *samâjas* is clear from the descriptions given above and also from epigraphic references cited in my last article. These last speak of Khâravela, king of Kaliṅga, and Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi as having amused their subjects with *utsavas* and *samâjas*.

I now proceed to consider the third or last part of Rock Edict I. in which Piyadasi speaks of hundreds of thousands of animals slain every day in his royal kitchen. In my last article on this inscription, I interpreted this passage to mean that these animals were slaughtered to serve meat on the occasion of these *samâjas* which he now condemned but which he formerly celebrated. But this interpretation is open at least to two objections. First, the word *anudivasaṁ* is rendered devoid of all meaning. For the natural and usual sense of this term is "every day", and it is not possible to suppose that before the spirit of righteousness dawned upon the mind of Piyadasi, he was in the habit of holding a *samâja* every day. Such a thing is an utter impossibility. Secondly, the slaughter of the animals referred to by him took place, as we are distinctly told, in his own kitchen (*mahânasa*) and not in a *samâja*. Nor is it possible to suppose that these *samâjas* were celebrated near the royal palace, and, in particular, in the close proximity of the royal kitchen. For all evidence points to such *samâjas* coming off not only far from the palace but also far from the city. Both the *samâjas* described in the *Mahâbhârata* and alluded to above were held outside the capital towns. And the references from Buddhist literature cited above inform us that they were held on the tops of hills. Hence *samâjas* can possibly have nothing to do with the fearful killing of animals, that, as Aśoka tells us, was carried out every day in his kitchen. The questions therefore naturally arise: why did this daily slaughter take place ? Was such a thing ever done by any other king ? Those who have read chapter 208 of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* can have no difficulty in answering these questions. In this chapter we are told that two thousand cattle and two thousand kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahânasa*) of the king Rantideva and by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame. This statement, I have no doubt, at once unravels the mystery which has hung over the passage of the edict. We cannot help supposing that like Rantideva Aśoka also was in the habit of distributing meat among his subjects and that his object in doing so must have been precisely the same,

[4] *Ante*, p. 25 ff.

viz., that of making himself popular. This explanation fits here so excellently that, in the absence of a better one, it may, I think, be safely accepted. But he put a stop to this terrible animal carnage the moment his conscience was aroused and at first restricted it to the killing of three animals everyday which were required strictly for the royal table, and finally abolished this practice also, as we can well believe from the concluding words of the edict.

XX.—Ujjain Stone inscription of Chaulukya Jayasimha.

When I was at Ujjain in January last, I was told by the people that a fragment of an inscription recently discovered was lying in the compound of the local Municipality. On personally inspecting it, I found that though the inscription was but a fragment, the preserved portion of it was of great importance for the history of the Chaulukya and Paramâra families. It begins with the date, *viz.*, Thursday the 14th of the dark half of Jyeshṭha of Vikrama Saṁvat 1195, and refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya sovereign, Jayasiṁhadeva. His usual epithets also are given, *viz.*, *Tribhuvana-gaṇḍa*, *Siddha-chakravarti*, *Avaṁtinâtha* and *Varvaraka-jishṇu*, and he is mentioned to be reigning at Aṇahilapâṭaka (Aṇhilvâḍâ). *Mahattama* Śrî-Dâdâka was at that time the keeper of the seal at Aṇahilapâṭaka. Then, in lines 7-8, whose meaning is clear but whose grammatical construction is not faultless, we are told that Jayasiṁha was per force holding the district (*maṇḍala*) of Avantî after vanquishing Yaśovarman, king of Mâlwâ. The next two lines inform us that Mâlwâ was held for Jayasiṁha by Mahâdeva, who was a son of Daṁḍa° Dâdâka and who belonged to the Nâgara race. Then follow names of some individuals and the mention of the god Kîrtinârâyaṇa. But as the stone is broken off from here, their connection is far from clear.

The importance of the inscription is centred in the mention of the district of Avantî being held by the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha after defeating the Paramâra Yaśovarman. This gives confirmation to the fact that the old Gujarât chronicles speak of Jayasiṁha as seizing and imprisoning Yaśovarman and bringing all Avantideśa together with Dhâr under his subjection.[5] That Yaśovarman was thrown into prison is borne out by a Dohad inscription,[6] which represents Jayasiṁha to have imprisoned king of Mâlwâ who can be no other than this Paramâra prince. We have a copper-plate grant found at Ujjain, which gives V.E. 1191 as the date of Yaśovarman and couples with his name the titles *Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara*. Jayasiṁha must, therefore, have inflicted this crushing defeat on Yaśovarman between V.E. 1191 and 1195. We are told that Yaśovarman contrived to escape from his prison, and, with the assistance of the Chohân king of Ajmer, regained his possessions and came to terms with Jayasiṁha.

THE PRIORITY OF BHAMAHA TO DANDIN.

BY RAO BAHADUR K. P. TRIVEDI, B.A.; AHMEDABAD.

THE question of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin has been discussed fully by me in the Preface to my edition of the *Pratâparudrayaśobhûshaṇa* in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. I have also given there my views in regard to the reference to Nyâsakâra which is found in Bhâmaha's work. Since, however, Prof. K. B. Pâṭhak has chosen to establish his theory of the priority of Daṇḍin to Bhâmaha on the strength of the reference which he thinks is indisputably a reference to Jinendrabuddhi of the eighth century, disregarding, or not attaching much value to, or not caring to refute other grounds which lend a strong presumption in favour of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin, I shall try in this article first to show that the Nyâsakâra alluded to by Bhâmaha is not Jinendrabuddhi, and then to mention some grounds which lend a very strong colour to the belief in my mind of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin.

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[5] See *e. g.* the *Dvyâśraya-kâvya* (*Ante*, Vol. IV., p. 266). [6] *Ante*, Vol. X., p. 159.

The verses in Bhâmaha's *Kâvyâlamkâra* in which Nyâsakâra is alluded to are as under :—

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।
तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् ॥
सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः ।
अकेन च न कुर्वीत वृत्तिं तद्गमको यथा ॥

The passage from Jinendrabuddhi's *Kâśikâvivaraṇapañjikâ*, as quoted by Prof. Pâṭhak, is as under :—

अथ किमर्थं तृचः सानुबन्धस्योच्चारणम् । तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थम् । नैतदस्ति । तद्योगे न लोकाव्ययेत्यादिना षष्ठीप्रतिषेधात् । एवं तर्ह्येतदेव ज्ञापकं भवति तद्योगेऽपि क्वचित् षष्ठी भवतीति । तेन भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्तेत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ॥

Now what Bhâmaha urges is that Pâṇini's *sûtra* 'तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि' २। २। १५॥ should be strictly observed and no षष्ठीतत्पुरुष compound formed with words ending in the subjective तृच् and अक suffixes. Consequently no compound takes place in instances like अपां स्रष्टा, वज्रस्य भर्ता, and ओदनस्य पाचकः. How then, says Bhaṭṭoji Dîkshita, is a compound like त्रिभुवनविधातुः in घटानां निर्मातुस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः to be accounted for? He then gives Kaiyaṭa's view 'शेषषष्ठ्याः समास इति कैयटः'. It will thus be seen that a compound of कारकषष्ठी with a word ending in तृच् or अक in the subjective sense is forbidden and that whenever a compound of a word in the genitive case is formed with a word ending in subjective तृच् or अक as in त्रिभुवनविधातुः it should be taken as a compound of शेषषष्ठी with a तृजन्त or अगन्त word.

Let us now see what the extract given above from the *Kâśikâvivaraṇapañjikâ* means. Nyâsakâra discusses the propriety of the *anubandha* च् in तृच् in the *sûtra* 'तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि.' His extract, as I understand it, means as under :—'Why does Pâṇini pronounce तृच् with its *anubandha* च्? In other words, why does Pâṇini not give the *sûtra* as 'त्रकाभ्यां कर्तरि'? What is the propriety of the *anubandha* च्? Nyâsakâra says that तृच् is pronounced to exclude तृन्. That is to say, a compound of षष्ठी with a तृजन्त is forbidden, not with a तृन्नन्त. But this view brings in another difficulty; for the use of the genitive is forbidden with a तृन्नन्त word by 'न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम्' २। ३। ६९॥ and so षष्ठीसमास with a तृन्नन्त is out of the question. This difficulty is obviated by Nyâsakâra by supposing that this very *sûtra* is a ज्ञापक that the genitive may sometimes be used with a तृन्नन्त word and that the निषेध or prohibition of the genitive with a तृन्नन्त word by the *sûtra* 'न लोका-' is अनित्य or inconstant. The prohibition of the genitive with a तृन्नन्त word being inconstant, the *prayoga* भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहन्ता etc. according to the extract as given by Prof. Pâṭhak or the compounds भयशोकहन्ता etc., can be justified.

In brief, the gist of the Nyâsakâra's contention is this. No compound of the genitive with a तृजन्त word can take place according to Pâṇini's तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि. Therefore compounds of the genitive with a word ending in तृ should be justified by taking the word ending in तृ to be तृन्नन्त.

Now let us see what Bhâmaha means and whether the Nyâsakâra alluded to by him is Jinendrabuddhi. He urges very strongly that Pâṇini must be strictly followed and that compounds of the genitive with a word ending in तृच् should on no account be formed either on the strength of शिष्टप्रयोग, *i. e.*, the use of such compounds by the learned, or on the strength of the view of the Nyâsakâra, as the compound वृत्रहन्ता has actually been mentioned simply on the strength of सूत्रज्ञापक. कथंचित् seems to have been explained by Bhâmaha by सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण. Some justify compounds of the genitive with a word ending in तृच् by Pâṇini's own निर्देश in the *sûtra* जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः. The sense of Bhâmaha's words is quite clear. He contends that Pâṇini must be followed and no compound of the genitive with a तृजन्त word should ever be formed; Nyâsakâra's opinion should on no account be accepted and षष्ठीसमास

with a तृजन्त should not be formed. Thus the view of Bhâmaha's Nyâsakâra is that षष्ठीसमास with a तृजन्त word may take place. This is distinctly against Pâṇini and is therefore very strongly condemned by Bhâmaha. तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न्यासकारमतेन न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् means distinctly that according to the view of the Nyâsakâra षष्ठीसमास with a तृजन्त may be allowed. तृचा षष्ठीसमासो भवतीति न्यासकारमतं तन्मतेन तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकं न कथंचिदुदाहरेत् यतोऽपाणिनीयमेतत्—

This is the purport of Bhâmaha's words. Bhâmaha had great reverence for Pâṇini; for at the end of the sixth *parichchheda* he says, 'श्रद्धेयं जगति मतं हि पाणिनीयम्'

Now let us see whether Jinendrabuddhi is the Nyâsakâra alluded to by Bhâmaha. That the two Nyâsakâras, the one alluded to by Bhâmaha, and the commentator on the *Kâśikâvṛitti*, are far from being one and the same person must have now been clear on the following ground :—

The Nyâsakâra, Jinendrabuddhi, is not in favour of a षष्ठीसमास with a तृजन्त word ; but justifies a compound of the genitive with a word ending in तृ by taking the word ending in तृ to be तृन् and not तृच्. Thus Bhâmaha's Nyâsakâra can never be Jinendrabuddhi.

Moreover, वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः means that the compound वृत्रहन्ता is उदित—actually mentioned by Nyâsakâra. It cannot mean सूचितः so that it can be included in the class भयशोकहन्ता owing to the use of the word आदि as Prof. Pâṭhak seems to think. Bhâmaha's Nyâsakâra must be one who has actually used the compound वृत्रहन्ता. It is thus as clear as anything that the Nyâsakâra of Bhâmaha is not Jinendrabuddhi on the two following grounds :—

(1) Bhâmaha's Nyâsakâra is distinctly in favour of the compound of the genitive with a word ending in तृच्; while Jinendrabuddhi is not in favour of such a compound and justifies a compound of the genitive with a word ending in तृ by taking the word ending in तृ to be a word ending in तृन् and not तृच् to avoid the violation of the *Sûtra* 'तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि'.

(2) Bhâmaha's Nyâsakâra has mentioned the compound वृत्रहन्ता on the strength of सूत्रज्ञापक and this compounded word must be understood to be तृचा समस्तषष्ठीक ; that is, वृत्रहन्ता is a compound of the genitive with a तृजन्त and not तृन्नन्त word. Jinendrabuddhi does not mention the compound वृत्रहन्ता at all; and the compound that he mentions according to Prof. Pâṭhak's extract is भयशोकहन्ता. He uses आदि and thus वृत्रहन्ता may be proved to be correct (सिद्ध) according to him. But it is not उदित or actually mentioned by him; nor is it according to Jinendrabuddhi a compound of the genitive with a तृजन्त as Bhâmaha's Nyâsakâra evidently sanctions.

Prof. Pâṭhak says, "I shall give below Bhâmaha's verses, together with the passage containing the Nyâsakâra's *Jñâpaka*, as the extract supplied to Mr. Trivedi from Mysore is most corrupt." Now Bhâmaha's verses given by Prof. Pâṭhak are the same as in my edition of the *Pratâparudrîya* and there is no difference in reading whatsoever ; and the extract supplied to me does not differ from Prof. Pâṭhak's extract except in one place, where the reading in my passage is more to the point than the one in Prof. Pâṭhak's extract. My extract is as under :—

अथ किमर्थं सानुबन्धस्योच्चारणं तृजिति । तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थम् । नैतदस्ति । तद्योगे न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठेत्यादिना षष्ठीप्रतिषेधात् । एवं तर्हि तदेव ज्ञापकं भविष्यति तद्योगे क्वचित् षष्ठी भवतीति । तेन भीष्मः कुमाराणां भयशोकस्य हन्ता इत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ।

On comparing this extract supplied to me for my edition of the *Pratâparudrîya* with Prof. Pâṭhak's extract as given above, it will be seen that there is no material difference in them except at the end in the instance given. Now भयशोकस्य हन्ता is more to the point than भयशोकहन्ता ; for Jinendrabuddhi has given this instance to justify the use of the genitive with a तृन्नन्त word and to show that the prohibition 'न लोकाव्यय—' is अनित्य. The justification of a compound is not in dispute and therefore the reading given in Prof. Pâṭhak's extract is not quite in point ; though it appears to be the correct reading as a line of a verse from the *Mahâbhârata*.

Prof. Pâṭhak says, 'When Mr. Trivedi says that "many Nyâsakâras are mentioned in the *Dhâtuvṛitti* of Mâdhavâchârya : क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास, न्यासोद्योत, बोधिन्यास, शाकटायनन्यास," he tells us something less than the truth.' Prof. Pâṭhak then quotes three or four passages where *Nyâs* or Nyâsakâra is mentioned. The truth is that *Nyâsa*, Nyâsakâra, Haradatta, *Padamañjarî*, Maitreya, etc., are mentioned or quoted so very frequently in the *Dhâtuvṛitti* that it is useless to quote passages to show it to the reader. Moreover, the point at issue is whether there was *only one* Nyâsakâra or whether there were *more* than one Nyâsakâra. To establish that there were more than one Nyâsakâra, I have given the different Nyâsakâras, mentioned by Mâdhava, and I now quote a few passages where they are mentioned :—

(*a*) स्पष्टं चैवं 'गूपधूप' इत्यत्र न्यासपदमञ्जर्यादिषु । अत्र **क्षेमेन्द्रन्यासे** पणतेः सार्वधातुकेऽप्यायविकल्प उक्तः p. 266 Vol. I. Part I. (Mysore edition).

Here क्षेमेन्द्रन्यास is distinctly mentioned as different from न्यास.

(*b*) कथं तर्हि प्रत्युदाहरणं 'ग्रामण्यै स्त्रियै' 'खलप्वे स्त्रियै' इति । उच्यते—क्रियाशब्दत्वेऽप्यनयोः पुंसि मुख्या वृत्तिः पुंसामेव खल्विदमुचितं यदुत ग्रामनयनं नाम । एवं खलपवनमपि । आध्यानं तु स्त्रीपुंससाधारणमिति विशेष इति । **न्यासोद्योतादा**वप्येवमुक्तम् । p. 74 Vol. I. Part I.

परिग्रहे तु अगतित्वात् अन्तर्हत्वा मूषिका श्येनो गत इति भवति । परिगृह्येत्यर्थः । अत्र **न्यासोद्योते**— 'अन्तःशब्दो धातोः परिग्रहे वृत्तिं करोति' इति । p. 14 Vol. II. Part I.

मनोहत्य पयः पिबति......उक्तं च **न्यासोद्योते** 'हन्तिरवधीकरणाङ्गं निवृत्तौ वर्तते अभिलाषनिवृत्तिमवधीकृत्य पयः पिबतीत्यर्थ इति । p. 14 Vol. II. Part I.

'अकथितं च' इत्यत्र **न्यासे** निवाहिहरिजिदण्डीन् प्रस्तुत्य ग्रामादीनामप्यजादिवत् क्रियाजन्यफलभाक्त्वेऽपि तदविवक्षायामकथितत्वमुक्तम् । यदाह—अकथितेष्वेषां ग्रहणं यश ग्रामादीनामीप्सिततमत्वमनीप्सिततमत्वं च न विवक्ष्यते किं तु कर्तुरीप्सितत्वमात्रमेव तदर्थमिति । **न्यासोद्योते** च—अजादीनां ग्रामादीनां चेप्सिततमत्वमविशिष्टमित्युक्तम् । p. 529 Vol. I. Part II.

It is not quite clear whether the न्यासोद्योत or the उद्योत on the न्यास quoted here is on the same न्यास that is quoted before or on another न्यास.

सातयतीति सातयः ।......'सातिः सौत्रो धातुः' इति वृत्तौ । **बोधिन्यासे**ऽपि 'सातिः सुखे वर्तते सौत्रः' इति । **जिनेद्रहरदत्तौ** 'सातिर्हेतुमण्ण्यन्तः' इति । p. 122 Vol. I. Part I.

Here बोधिन्यास is made distinct from the well known न्यास of जिनेन्द्र.

विष्वणनम् । सशब्दभोजनम् । तथा च वृत्तौ—अभ्यवहारक्रियाविशेषोऽभिधीयते यत्र स्वननमस्ति । सशब्दं भुङ्क्ते इत्यर्थ इति ।

पिनाकी तु । भुञ्जानः किंचिच्छब्दं करोतीति । काश्यपस्तु भोजनमेवार्थमाह । **बोधिन्यासे**ऽपि पक्षत्रयमपि दर्शितम् । pp. 457-58 Vol. I. Part II.

अत्र स्वाम्यादयः केचिदेतदन्ता घटादय इति । **बोधिन्यासे** तु ध्वन्यन्ता इति । p. 459 Vol. I. Part II.

सर्वे नादयो णोपदेशा इत्यस्य पर्युदासे 'नृतिनन्दिनर्दिनक्किनाटिनाधृनाथृनृवर्जम्' इत्यत्र चैनं न पेठतुः (मैत्रेयाभरणकारौ) । अत्र काश्यपः—'नाधतेर्णोपदेशत्वमयुक्तं गणकारवृत्तिकारादीनामनिष्टत्वात्' इति । नृतीनन्दीत्यादिवाक्ये नृवर्जं नृत्यादीन् पठित्वैतान् सप्त वर्जयित्वा इति वदन् श्रीकारोऽप्यत्रैवानुकूलः । तथा पर्युदासवाक्ये नर्दतिवर्जं सर्वानेतान् पठतः **शाकटायनन्यासकृतो**ऽप्ययमेव पक्षोऽभिमत । p. 94 Vol. I. Part I.

The above quotations make it clear that Mâdhava mentions more than one Nyâsakâra.

Having shown that the Nyâsakâra of Bhâmaha is not Jinendrabuddhi, I shall proceed to place before the reader arguments in favour of Bhâmaha's priority to Daṇḍin.

(*a*) Old writers on *Alaṁkâras* are mentioned as भामहादय : in the following :—

(1) पूर्वेभ्यो **भामहादिभ्यः** सादरंविहिताञ्जलिः।
वक्ष्ये सम्यगलंकारशास्त्रसर्वस्वसंग्रहम् ॥

प्रतापरुद्रीय. १. २.

(2) भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरंतनालंकारकाराः।

अलंकारसर्वस्व p. 3

(3) भामहादिमतेन तु अर्थान्तरन्यास एव

रुद्रट's काव्यानुशासन p. 116

The views of Daṇḍin being the same as those of Bhâmaha about अर्थान्तरन्यास, Rudraṭa would have said दण्डयादिमतेन, had he thought Daṇḍin to be the oldest *Âlaṁkârika* in place of Bhâmaha.

(*b*) Bhâmaha's work is looked upon with great reverence by authors like Mammaṭa and Abhinavagupta and is called आकर. The following verses have been quoted by Mammaṭa :—

सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलंकारोऽनया विना॥

काव्यप्र० X.

This verse is quoted in ध्वन्यालोक and लोचन pp. 207-8 and n हेमचन्द्र's काव्यानुशासन p. 267.

रूपकादिरलंकारस्तस्यान्यैर्बहुधोदितः।
न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनितामुखम्॥
रूपकादिमलंकारं बाह्यमाचक्षते परे।
सुपां तिङां च व्युत्पत्तिं वाचां वाञ्छन्त्यलंकृतिम्।
तदेतदाहुः सौशब्द्यं नार्थव्युत्पत्तिरीदृशी।
शब्दाभिधेयालंकारभेदादिष्टं द्वयं तु नः॥

काव्यप्र० VI.

Râghavabhaṭṭa in his *Arthadyotanikâ* on the *Abhijñânaśâkuntala* calls Bhâmaha's work आकर—अत एव सर्वालंकाराणामतिशयोक्तिगर्भत्वमाकरे दर्शितम्—"नालंकारोऽनया विना" इति।

The mention of authors like Râmaśarman and Śâkhâvardhana and works like *Achyutottara*, *Ratnâharaṇa*, *Râjamitra*, and *Aśmakavaṁśa*, and the fact that nothing is known about these authors and works and that they are not found quoted anywhere else lend a strong colour to the presumption that Bhâmaha belongs to very ancient times and this justifies the mention of Bhâmaha at the top of old *Âlaṁkârika*s in expressions like पूर्वेभ्यो भामहादिभ्यः, भामहोद्भटप्रभृतयश्चिरंतनालंकारकाराः, the great reverence in which he was held by authors like Mammaṭa and Abhinavagupta, and the application of the epithet आकर to his work.

(*c*) Daṇḍin's numerous divisions of *Upamâ*, *Rûpaka*, *Âkshepa*, and *Vyatireka* and his detailed treatment of *Śabdâlaṁkâras* in a separate chapter strengthen the presumption of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin and of Daṇḍin's belonging to a later age than Bhâmaha ; since the latter's divisions of *Alaṁkâra*s are not so minute and since he does not attach much importance to *Śabdâlaṁkâra*s.

(*d*) A close comparison of several portions of the works of Bhâmaha and Daṇḍin almost affords a convincing evidence in favour of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin. The following may be mentioned as instances :—

(1) Verses about कथा and आख्यायिका—

प्रकृतानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना।
गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाख्यायिका मता॥
वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्यां नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम्।
वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च काले भाव्यर्थशंसि च॥
कवेरभिप्रायकृतैः कथनैः कैश्चिदङ्किता।
कन्याहरणसंग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता॥
न वक्त्रापरवक्त्राभ्यां युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि।
संस्कृतं संस्कृता चेष्टा कथापभ्रंशभाक् तथा॥

अन्यैः स्वचरितं तस्यां नायकेन तु नोच्यते ।
स्वगुणाविष्कृतिं कुर्यादभिजातः कथं जनः ॥ भामह.

Compare with the above, the following from Daṇḍin's *Kâvyâdarśa* :—

अपादः पदसन्तानो गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।
इति तस्य प्रभेदौ द्वौ तयोराख्यायिका किल ॥
नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा ।
स्वगुणाविष्क्रिया दोषो नात्र भूतार्थशंसिनः ॥
अपि त्वनियमो दृष्टस्तत्राप्यन्यैरुदीरणात् ।
अन्यो वक्ता स्वयं वेति कीदृग्वा भेदकारणम् ॥
वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च सोच्छ्वासत्वं च भेदकम् ।
चिह्नमाख्यायिकायाश्चेत् प्रसङ्गेन कथास्वपि ॥
आर्यादिवत् प्रवेशः किं न वक्त्रापरवक्त्रयोः ।
भेदश्च दृष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्वासो वास्तु किं ततः ॥
तत् कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिः संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता ।
अत्रैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चाख्यानजातयः ॥

On a comparison of the description of कथा and आख्यायिका as given by भामह and दण्डिन्, it will be seen at once that Bhâmaha recognizes a difference between them ; while Daṇḍin says that they belong to one and the same class of compositions with two names. The facts that Daṇḍin knew that the difference between कथा and आख्यायिका was traditional (as the word किल—'किल इति ऐतिह्ये'—shows) and accepted by old *Âlaṁkârikas*, that Bhâmaha acknowledges the difference between them and that the points of difference between them (1 आख्यायिका सोच्छ्वासा कथा नोच्छ्वासवती ; २ आख्यायिकायां वक्त्रं चापरवक्त्रं च कथायां न वक्त्रं नाप्यपरवक्त्रम्; 3 आख्यायिकायां नायकेन स्ववृत्तमाख्यायते कथायामन्यैर्नायकवृत्तमाख्यायते) as attacked by Daṇḍin are precisely the same as those mentioned by Bhâmaha afford a strong presumption in favour of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin.

2 गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुर्यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।
इत्येवमादि किंकाव्यं वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते ॥

भामह.

गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुर्यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।
इतीदमपि साध्वेव कालावस्थानिवेदने ॥

दण्डिन्.

Here गतोऽस्तमर्कः etc. is declared to be bad poetry by Bhâmaha ; while Daṇḍin says that it is undoubtedly good poetry. The use of एव is pointed and seems distinctly levelled against those who call it bad poetry. Bhâmaha is one that we have found as such and this allusion of Daṇḍin is another strong evidence in favour of the priority of Bhâmaha.

3. अपार्थं व्यर्थमेकार्थं ससंशयमपक्रमम् ।
शब्दहीनं यतिभ्रष्टं भिन्नवृत्तं विसन्धि च ॥
देशकालकलालोकन्यायागमविरोधि च ।
प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहीनं दुष्टं च नेष्यते ॥

भामह.

अपार्थं व्यर्थमेकार्थं ससंशयमपक्रमम् ।
शब्दहीनं यतिभ्रष्टं भिन्नवृत्तं विसन्धिकम् ॥
देशकालकलालोकन्यायागमविरोधि च ।
इति दोषा दशैवेते वर्ज्याः काव्येषु सूरिभिः ॥
प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहानिर्दोषो न वेत्यसौ ॥
विचारः कर्कशप्रायस्तेनालीढेन किं फलम् ॥

दण्डिन्.

It will be seen that the first ten *doshas* mentioned by Daṇḍin are precisely the same as those given by Bhâmaha and that the eleventh *dosha* of Bhâmaha is criticised by Daṇḍin. This is almost conclusive evidence in favour of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin.

4. The verse

अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते ।
कालेनैषा भवेत् प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः ॥

is given as an instance of प्रेयोऽलंकार both by Bhâmaha (III.5) and Daṇḍin (II.276). It is very probable that Daṇḍin has borrowed this verse from Bhâmaha; for when the former does not acknowledge the source from which he borrows as in लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि &c., the latter acknowledges the sources wherever he borrows verses from others as *Râjamitra*, *Achyutottara*, etc. Moreover, Bhâmaha says distinctly that the instances to illustrate figures of speech are his own composition (स्वयंकृतैरेव निदर्शनैरियं मया प्रक्लृप्ता खलु वागलंकृतिः । II. 96). This is an additional evidence for the presumption of the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin.

5 काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।
उत्सवः सुधियामेव हन्त दुर्मेधसो हताः ॥
भामह II. 20.

व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवः सुधियामलम् ।
हता दुर्मेधसश्चास्मिन् विद्वत्प्रियतया मया ॥
भट्टि XXII. 34.

Here it is evident that one has borrowed from the other. The verse is ascribed to Bhâmaha by Śrîvatsâṅkamiśra of the tenth century A.D. This places Bhâmaha before Bhaṭṭi of the 6th or the 7th century.

Prof. Pâṭhak quotes from my text the verses यदुक्तं त्रिप्रकारत्वं तस्याः कैश्चिन्महात्मभिः etc. and states that Bhâmaha is attacking Daṇḍin in whose work the three divisions of *Upamâ* mentioned by Bhâmaha are found. This inference or presumption does not seem to me to be at all warranted by facts; for Daṇḍin does not divide *Upamâ* into three kinds only, but into a number of varieties (धर्मोपमा, वस्तूपमा, विपर्यासोपमा, अन्योन्योपमा, नियमोपमा, अनियमोपमा, समुच्चयोपमा, अतिशयोपमा, उत्प्रेक्षितोपमा, अद्भुतोपमा, मोहोपमा, संशयोपमा, निर्णयोपमा, श्लेषोपमा, समानोपमा, निन्दोपमा, प्रशंसोपमा, आचिख्यासोपमा, विरोधोपमा, प्रतिषेधोपमा, चटूपमा, तत्त्वाख्यानोपमा, असाधारणोपमा, अभूतोपमा, असंभावितोपमा, बहूपमा, विक्रियोपमा, मालोपमा, वाक्यार्थोपमा, प्रतिवस्तूपमा, तुल्ययोगोपमा, and हेतूपमा) so many as 32 in number; nor does Daṇḍin's विस्तर or long division of *Upamâ* begin with मालोपमा so that Bhâmaha's words 'मालोपमादिः सर्वोऽपि न ज्यायान् विस्तरो मुधा' may be taken as levelled against Daṇḍin. If Bhâmaha had Daṇḍin in view, he would have said धर्मोपमादिः instead of मालोपमादिः

(*e*) Taruṇavâchaspati, a commentator on the *Kâvyâdarśa*, distinctly mentions in three or four places the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin :—

(*a*) भामहेन 'कन्याहरणसंग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता' इति आख्यायिकाविशेषणतया उक्तम् । आख्यायिकाभेद एव अत्र निराकृतः। Com. on I. 29.

(*b*) हेतुं लक्षयिष्यन् भामहेनोक्तं—'हेतुश्च सूक्ष्मलेशौ च नालंकारतया मताः'—इत्येतद् प्रतिक्षिपति—हेतुश्चेति । Com. on II. 235.

(*c*) हेतोरलंकारत्वप्रत्याख्यायिनं भामहं प्रत्याह—प्रीत्युत्पादनेति । Com. on II. 237.

(*d*) दशैवेत्यवधारणं न युक्तम् । भामहोक्तानां प्रतिज्ञाहान्यादीनामपि विद्यमानत्वादिति चेदाह । प्रतिज्ञेति । Com. on IV. 4.

In (*b*) and (*c*) the commentator states distinctly that Daṇḍin criticises Bhâmaha. He thus places Bhâmaha before Daṇḍin.

I think I have made out a sufficiently strong case for the presumption, almost amounting to certainty' for the priority of Bhâmaha to Daṇḍin.

THE DATE OF THE MUDRA-RAKSHASA AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF MALAYAKETU.

BY KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL, M. A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, CALCUTTA.

THE arguments of Telang[1] are conclusive to establish the thesis that the play could not have been written later than the eighth century A. D. Now there is a further piece of internal evidence which has been missed, and which, I think, fixes the date of the play with almost absolute certainty.

The *bharata-vâkya* to the play names the reigning monarch: "*at present (adhunâ)* . . . . may long reign king Chandragupta[2]". Who was this the then reigning king Chandragupta alluded to in the *bharata-vâkya?* Before the eighth century and during a period when Pâṭaliputra was a living town[3] (before 644 A. D.) there had been only three Chandraguptas: Chandragupta the conqueror of Seleucus, and the two Guptas bearing that name.

He could not have been the first. Omitting other reasons, it would be sufficient to point out that the Sakas and the Hûṇas are mentioned in the play[4]. I attach more importance to the mention of the latter, who were absolutely unknown in the fourth century B.C.[5]

As the first is excluded, the identification must be limited only to the ambit of the two Guptas, out of whom I would select the latter, Chandragupta (II) the Vikramâditya. Chandragupta I was not a monarch of much importance; his name is not associated in any of the Gupta inscriptions with the suppression of any foreign enemy, or any great deeds to elicit a comparison, as in the *bharata-vâkya*, with Vishṇu. Chandragupta II, on the other hand, did suppress the political power of the Sakan *mlechchhas* of Western India[6]. Also I feel inclined to suspect a veiled defence of the scandalous murder of the Saka Satrap[7] in the story put forward in the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* of the destruction of the *Mlechchha* Parvataka[8] by Chandragupta the Maurya through the alleged agency of the *visha-kanyâ* ('poisonous girl').

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1 *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* (Nirṇaya Sâgara Press, 4th edition), Introduction, pp. 13-25.

2 म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः ।
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्याश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ।

3 Yuwan Chwang (*c.* 644 A. D.) found Pâṭaliputra in ruins with a population of some 1000 persons. Besides the fact that most of the scenes are laid at Pâṭaliputra, the patriotic speech of Râkshasa about Pâṭaliputra indicates that at the time of the composition of the play Pâṭaliputra was the capital:

"अयि, मयि स्थिते कः कुसुमपुरमुपरोत्स्यति । प्रवीरक प्रवीरक, क्षिप्रमिदानीम् । प्राकारं परितः शरासनधरैः क्षिप्रं परिक्रम्यतां, द्वारेषु द्विरदैः प्रतिद्विपघटाभेदक्षमैः स्थीयताम्. Act II. verse 13.

4 Act V, verse 11.

5 I discuss below the Hûṇas of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa.*

6 In this connexion the prophecy of the *Purâṇas* as to the rise in Sâkambharî (Sâmbhar) of a popular leader, the Brâhmaṇ Kalkî, who is an ordinary man in the *Vâyu-Purâṇa* but is treated as an *avatâra* in later works, is significant. There seems to have been some great popular attempt made at uprooting the Sakas in Mâlavâ and Western Râjputânâ about the early decades of the Gupta days, at which point the earlier *Purâṇas* close their chronology. [The *Vâyu*, I think, closed before the reign of Chandragupta II, probably in the early days of Samudragupta. For the dominions of the Guptas described there precedes the conquests of Samudragupta:

अनुगङ्गं प्रयागञ्च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्षन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥ *Vâyu-Purâṇa* 37 ch. 277.]

7 अरिपुरे च परकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेषगुप्तश्च चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमनाशयत्. "Chandragupta, in the capital of the enemy, disguised as a beautiful woman, killed the lord of the Sakas who wanted wives of others". *Harsha-charita*, VI. The truth seems to have been that while a war was waged by Chandragupta II against the Satrap, probably an agent of Chandragupta took advantage of some scandalous intrigue of the Satrap and killed him.

8 The *Parvataka* of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* probably conceals in it the historical *Philippos*, Alexander's Satrap of the Panjab, who is recorded to have been murdered by Indian troops. Philologically *Philippos* would be changed into *Piribo*, * *Piribao* or * *Pirabao*; and an attempt to restore Pirabo or Pirabao into Sanskrit would produce *Parvata* or *Parvataka.*

On the basis of the occurrence of the Hûṇas in the play, it might be argued that the play must be dated after the Hun irruptions into India, which are believed to have taken place a generation later than the reign of Chandragupta II[9]. But the Huns had been known to this country before they came in as invaders. The *Lalitavistara* mentions the *Hûṇa-lipi*. They came to be known through the intercourse between India and Tartary and China, which had been well-established and frequent in the 1st and 2nd century A. D. A series of Hindu missionaries of Buddhism[10] to China had already preceded Dharma-raksha(d. 313 A.D.), the translator of *Lalitavistara*. *The Questions of Milinda*, (ii. pp. 203-4) describes "people from Scythia, Bactria, China and Vilata (Tartary)" coming here. We do not know exactly where the Huns stayed immediately after they were driven away by China in the 1st century A.D. But this much is certain that they must have remained in the neighbourhood of Transoxiana through which the route to China lay. Before their attack on Persia (420 A. D.) they had already occupied Bactria. At Balkh and Bamian they had their head-quarters from which they raided south-west and south-east[11]. In view of these circumstances there is nothing contradictory in having an author under Chandragupta II mentioning the Huns. The very mention shows that up to that time the Huns had not yet occupied any part of India, for they are associated with the Chinese or China (*Chîna-Hûṇaiḥ*, Mudrā-Rā. Act V, verse 11). By Kâlidâsa they are described as occupying Kâshmîr (the land producing saffron)[12]; their Chinese association was completely forgotten in his days. It is also worthy of note that they do not figure in the first army of invasion which came to help Chandragupta against the Nanda (Act II, p. 124); they only appear in the army of Malayaketu, and there too not prominently, but as mere auxiliaries to Śaka monarchs (the northern Śakas = the Kushâṇas)[13]. They had not yet shown themselves superior to their Scythian neighbours, whom they actually overthrew about 465 A.D.

The conclusion, therefore, to which we are led is that the play knows the Hûṇas of a time when they had not yet acquired any territory in India, although an attack from them was considered probable. We may roundly put it down on chronological considerations *c.* 410. A. D. This also would confirm the view that the reigning Chandragupta of the *bharata-vâkya* must be Chandragupta-Vikramâditya (d. *c.* 413 A. D.) And the annoyance caused to the country by the *mlechchhas* at the time of the composition of the drama would refer, if the composition, as it seems probable, took place after the suppression of the Western Satrap (*c.* 390 A. D.), to the Kushanas, or possibly to the new element of the Huns, who might have already made some incursions, possibly in league with the Kushâṇas, during the last years of Chandragupta's reign.

"Malayaketu." All the nations, which help the *mlechchha* king Malayaketu, in his invasion of Pâṭaliputra, belong, as the late Mr. Telang has pointed out, 'one and all' 'except the name Malaya' 'to the northern parts, and most to the northern frontier of India,'[14] to be more accurate,

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9 V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd ed., p. 284.

10 *e. g.*, Mahâbala (*c.* 197 A. D.), Dharmapâla of Kapilavastu (*c.* 207 A. D.), Dharmakâla (222 A. D.), Vighna (*c.* 224 A. D).

11 Sir C. N. Eliot, *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., Vol. IX, p. 680.

It is very probable that the invasion of Balkh by Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription (who has been now conclusively identified with Chandravarma (*c.* 400 A. D.) by M. M. Haraprasad Śastri in the light of his new Mandasôr inscription) was in response to an early Hun inroad in territories, which were not subject to Samudragupta.

12 *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 67-68. The Hunic occupation of Kâshmîr comes over a century later, *i. e.*, after Mihirakula's defeat (*c.* 530, A. D.) by Bâlâditya and Yaśodharman. This would place Kâlidâsa about 540-550 A. D., or some 130 years at least later than the composition of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa*. (I may mention here that I have come across a Hûn caste at Almora, Himalayas.) [For a different interpretation of these verses of Kâlidâsa about Hûṇas, see Prof. Pathak's note, *Ante*, vol. XLI.—D. R. B.]

13 गान्धारैर्मध्ययाने यवनपतिभिः संविधेयः प्रयत्नः ।
पश्चात्तिष्ठन्तु वीराः शकनरपतयः संवृ [भृ ?] ताश्चीनहूणैः ॥

14 *Mudrâ-Râkshasa*, Introduction, p. 33.

to the north-western frontier of India. Malayaketu's predecessor, Parvataka, also belonged to the same regions. Not a single southern nation is mentioned in his army. Malayaketu thus obviously has no connection with the Malaya of the south. Further, no Malaya[15] in the north-west is known to any branch of Indian literature. And as *Malaya* is nowhere associated with the name of Malayaketu's alleged father and predecessor the *mlechchha* Parvataka, it does not seem to be connected either with any place-name or with any tribal designation. In view of these considerations *Malayaketu* can not be taken as representing originally a Saṃskrüta name. It appears to be merely a saṃskrütised edition of the original *mlechchha* name of the *mlechchha* invader. I propose to read *Malayaketu* as *Salayaketu*, taking the latter as a Hindu edition of *Seleucus*. There is a deceptive similarity between the letters *ma* and *sa* of the Gupta and later scripts, and the change from an unfamiliar *Salaya*-into the familiar *Malaya*-would have been an easy process in the course of copying manuscripts. Whom else could Indian tradition have intended by the *mlechchha* king 'Malayaketu' invading from the north-western frontier with a huge army of Greek and other (auxiliary) forces against Chandragupta the Maurya than the Greek Seleucus? If by the invasion of Malayaketu the Greek invasion[16] alone could be meant, the proposed reading *Salayaketu* in place of *Malayaketu*, I submit, has a very strong case.

KINSARIYA INSCRIPTION OF DADHICHIKA (DAHIYA) CHACHCHA OF VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1056.

BY PANDIT RAMKARNA; JODHPUR.

AN article on the above has been prepared and sent by me for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*, but a summary of it is given here for the information of those interested in the ancient history of Rajputana.

The inscription belongs to the reign of a prince called Chachcha, a feudatory of Durlabharâja of the imperial Châhamâna dynasty and whose genealogy is as follows:

Vâkpatirâja
|
Siṁharâja
|
Durlabharâja

Chachcha is spoken of as a prince descended from the well-known *ṛishi* Dadhîchi. The inscription unfolds the following genealogy of this chief :—

Meghanâda
|
Vairisiṁha
|
Chachcha
|
Yaśaḥpushṭa — Uddharaṇa

Chachcha is styled Dadhîchika or Dahiyaka, which is now-a-days called Dahiyâ. The following remarks translated from the Hindi Marwar Census Report of 1891 would be found interesting :—

" Some people hold that Dahiyâs are the one-half race that goes to complete the thirteen and a half races of Râṭhoṛs. They once ruled over Parbatsar and Jâlor, but now they are scattered

[15] Mahâmahopâdhyâya Haraprasad Śâstrî has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that the term *Malaya* is itself a Dravidian word meaning 'mountain.' *Cf.* Caldwell, *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., p. 21.

[16] It is probable that some of the details of the invasion of Seleucus might have been confused with the details of the invasion of Menander, *e. g.*, the march upon the capital Pâṭaliputra might have been transferred from the latter to the former, although it is not impossible that Seleucus was actually rused into a long march in the interior—a strategic policy largely and very successfully followed later on by the Parthians.

here and there. The old fort of Jâlor was constructed by the Dahiyâs. They now abound in the districts of Jâlor, Bâli, Jaswantpurâ, Pâlî, Siwâṇâ, Sânchor and Mallâṇî. They observe widow marriage, and are not regarded as of equa position with other Rajputs."

A detailed and more reliable account of this clan is contained in Mûtâ Neṇasî's *Chronicle*, a summary whereof will not here be out of place :—

" The original seat of the Dahiyâ Râjpûts is reported to be a fortress named Thâlner situated on the banks of the Godâvarî near modern Nâsik, whence they migrated into Mârwâṛ. In the Ajmer province they held the following places :—(1) the Derâvara-Parbatsar group of fifty-six villages, (2) Sâvar-Ghaṭiyâlî, (3) Harsŏr and (4) Mâhrôṭ also called Vîlaṇavâṭî. All the four villages lie in the north-eastern part of Mârwâṛ. They also owned villages in south-western part as well, *i. e.*, Jâlor and Sânchor.[1] Sânchor is said to have been conquered by Vijayasî with the aid of an accomplice, Vâghelâ Mâhirâvaṇa (sister's son of Vijayarâja), from the Dahiyâ Vijayarâja in S. 1142. This event is recorded in a verse quoted below: —

" धरा धूण धकचाल् कीध दहिया दहवहै ।
सबदी सबलां साल प्राण मेवास पहट्टै ॥
आलण सुत विजयसी वंस आसराव प्रागवड़ ।
खाग त्याग खत्रवाट सरण विजै पंजर सोहड़ ॥
चहुवांण राव चौरँग अचल् नरां नाह अणभंग नर ।
धू मेर सेस जां लग अचल् ताम राज साचोर धर ॥ १ ॥ "

Mûtâ Neṇasî also gives a list of the Dahiyâ princes, who reigned round about Parbatsar and Mârôṭ. He mentions Dadhîcha as one of their ancestors and specifies their names as follows :—

No. 27 Râha Râṇo (who inhabited Rohaḍî). No. 28 Kaḍava Râṇo. No. 29 Kîratasî Râṇo. No. 30 Vairasî Râṇo. No. 31 Châcha Râṇo (who raised a temple on a hill in the village of Siṇahaḍiyâ). No. 32 Anavî Udharaṇa (who ruled over Parbatsar and Mârot).

It is clear that the names Vairasî, Châcha and Udharaṇa of this list (Nos. 30-32) exactly correspond to Vairisiṁha, Chachcha, and Uddharaṇa of our inscription. The list however gives Kîratasî as the name of Vairasî's father, whereas he is called Meghanâda in the inscription. But there is nothing to preclude the supposition that Meghanâda and Kiratasî (Kîrttisiṁha) were the names of one and the same prince, as instances are not wanting of kings known by more than one name. Châcha Râṇo, as we have just seen, is described in Mûtâ Neṇasî's *Chronicle* as having built a temple on a hill in the village of Siṇahaḍiyâ, which seems to be an old name of Kiṇasariyâ. Our inscription also tells the same story, *viz.*, that Chachcha caused a temple of Bhavânî to be built. The epithet *aṇavî*, which is coupled with Udharaṇa, appears to be a corruption of *anamra*, meaning " unbending." He was succeeded by Jagadhara Râvata, who ruled over Parbatsar. He constructed a temple, dug a step-well and a well in village Mâṇḍala, 2 miles from Parbatsar. His second son was Vîlhaṇa, who wielded sway over the whole district of Mârot, which is, up to the present day, called Vîlaṇavâṭî. He used to reside in the village of Depârâ situated on a hill and 4 miles from Mârot, where an old fort and a tank still exist. Some Dahiyâs are still called Depârâ-Dahiyâs after this village. Of the succeeding generations, Bîbo (No. 34) constructed a tank called

[1] There are several villages which are collectively still called Dahiyâpaṭṭi, as districts of Mârot and Parbatsar are called Goḍâṭî (on account of their being once held by Gauḍas) and districts to the north of Jodhpur are called Indâvâṭî (owing to their being once ruled over by Încâ Râjpûts). This name Dahiyâpaṭṭî, is sufficient to testify the fact that Dahiyâs held some sort of sway over that part of the country in some time past.

Bîbâsar in Parbatsar ; and Hamîra (No. 35) was a great warrior. His deeds are beautifully described in the following verses :—

"महाकाऴ जमजाऴ जोधार जैमल्लरा,
काल्हरौ कथन संसार कहियौ ।
डुरत पतसाहरै साल्ल व्हौ डूदड़ौ,
डूदड़ा तणै उर साल्ल दहियौ ॥१॥
निवड़ भड़ निडर नरनाह नरबद्दरौ,
सकज भड़ स्यामरौ कांम सधीर ।
हियै पतसाह साल्ल हाडो हवौ,
हियै हाडा तणै साल्ल हमीर ॥ २ ॥
आवरत कहर असवार आखाड सिध,
काम पहचाड़ इधकार कीयौ ।
डूदड़ै डूठ पतसाह औ सुख दियौ,
डुरत डूदा उर साल्ल दीयौ ॥ ३ ॥"

There is a number of *pûtalîs* or figures of *śatîs* in an enclosure adjoining the temple containing this inscription. One of these figures bears an epitaph dated V. S. 1300 and containing the name of Vikrama son of Kîrtisiṁha Dahiyâ.

This shows that Dahiyâs held this part of the country for nearly 300 years, *i. e.*, up to 1300 V. S. The use of the letter *râ*, which is but an abbreviation of *râjâ*, prefixed to the name of Kîrtisiṁha, and the word *râjñî* before that of his wife show that Kîrtisiṁha was a ruling prince, and not an *ḍâḍâ*[2] Râjput. The Dahiyâ kings mentioned in our inscription were chieftains, no doubt, feudatory to the Châhamâna overlords, but also wielding sway over a tract of a country. This fact is again corroborated by the following abstract from an inscription of V. S. 1272 discovered in Maṅglâṇâ in the Mârôṭ district :—

"दधीचवंशे महामंडलेश्वरश्रीकदुवराजदेवपुत्र—
श्रीपद्मसीहदेवसुतमहाराजपुत्रश्रीजयतस्यं(सिं)ह"

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Śrî Relaṇa-deva (lord) of Raṇastambhapura or Raṇthambhor, and records some arrangements made in connection with a step-well. In this uscription also, the Dahiyâ prince, Jayatasiṁha, is spoken of as *mahâ râjaputra*, and his forefather Kaduvarâjadeva as *mahâmaṇḍaleśvara*, showing that originally the Dahiyâs were certainly of a higher status than that of *ḍâḍâ* Râjpûts, to which position they have now sunk.

A NOTE ON A FEW LOCALITIES IN THE NASIK DISTRICT MENTIONED IN ANCIENT COPPERPLATE GRANTS.

BY Y. R. GUPTE, B.A. ; NASIK.

1. Vaṭanagarikâ.

Vaṭanagarikâ occurs in the Pimpari plates, edited by Prof. Pâthak in the *Epigraphia Indica.*[1] On page 85 he says that Lîlâgrâma and Vaṭanagarikâ are identified by Mr. G. K. Chândôrkar with Nîlgavhâṇ and Vaṇî in the Nâsik District. I do not intend to pass any remarks at present on the identification of Lîlâgrâma with Nîlgavhâṇ. But the assertion that Vaṇî is the modern representative of the ancient Vaṭanagarikâ seems to me to be without any foundation.[2] If

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[2] A Râjpût is called an *ḍâḍâ* as distinguished from a *jâgirdâr*. An *ḍâḍâ* Râjpût is thus one who owns no *jâgîr* and is for that very reason looked upon as of inferior status.

[1] Volume X, pages 81 to 89.

[2] This identification was first proposed by Dr. Fleet when he edited the Vaṇî grant (*ante*, Vol. XI., p. 157), but he afterwards identified Vaṭanagarikâ with Vaṇer (*ibid*, Vol. XXXI, p. 218)—D.R.B.

proof is wanted, it is afforded by the mention of Vaṭanagara in the Kalachuri grant of the year 360 (about A.D. 609),[3] which must be Vaḍnêr in the Châṇdavad *tâlukâ* of the Nâsik District, where it was discovered. I do not urge that the Vaṭanagarikâ of the Pimpari plates must be this Vaḍnêr. Probably it is not. But the name Vaḍnêr is sufficient to show that this must really be the modern form of the ancient name, Vaṭanagarikâ. As in the Pimpari plates the name given is Vaṭanagarikâ, it appears that this was in all probability smaller than Vaṭanagara of the Vaḍnêr plates. But there is another Vaḍnêr, *viz*., in the Mâlegaon *tâlukâ* on the bank of the river Môsam, and probably it is this Vaḍnêr which may represent Vaṭanagarikâ, if the identification of Môsinî with Môsam, which is all but certain, is accepted.

2. Vallisikâ, and 3. Bhogavardhana.

These localities occur in the Âbhôṇe plates[4] of Saṅkaragaṇa of the imperial Kalachuri dynasty. To a Brâhmaṇ of Kallâvana (Kalvan in the Nâsik District) the village Vallisikâ in the province of Bhogavardhana is noted as given, while king Saṅkaragaṇa was encamped at Ujjayinî. Balhêgâon in the Yeola *tâlukâ*, about 15 miles from Ujjani, may perhaps be the modern representative of the ancient Vallisikâ. The shortened form of Vallisikâ would be Valhâ and then Balhâ, and would further run into the modern longer form Baḷhêgâon. There is a village called Bôgṭe not far from Balhêgâon, which may perhaps be Bhôgavardhana. I would propose another set of villages for consideration. Vallisikâ is most probably Vârasi *l* and *r* being interchangeable, and *a* being changed to *â* for the ease of pronunciation, as a conjunct consonant follows, and the *ka* being dropped. This village is about 8 miles from Kalvaṇ. Bhôgavardhana very likely must be Bhagurḍi, an ancient village in a dilapidated condition just near Âbhôṇ, *v* taking *samprasâraṇa* and the vowel preceding and fol owing it being dropped. It is worthy of note that the plates were discovered not far from it. Again, Bhagurḍi seems comparatively older than Bôgṭe. Bhagurḍi is 8 miles from Kalvan and ¼ mile from Âbhôṇe.

It would be o f some use to the antiquarians, if I would note one or two particulars about the above plates, not given in the *Epigraphia Indica*. They belong to Parvatrao Bhâusing Thôkê of Âbhôṇa in the Kalvan *tâlukâ*. The plates weigh 132 *tolas* without the rings and the seal, which are missing. (I have taken impressions and plaster casts from them. They were kindly forwarded to me by Mr. L. S. Potnis, Mamlatdar of Kalvan).

4. Chebhaṭikâ.

Chebhaṭikâ occurs in the inscription of Karkarâja, edited by Mr. D. R. Bhaṇḍârkar. He identifies it with simply Chehḍî, in the Niphâḍ *tâlukâ*. But it is better to call it by its usual name Chehḍî Khurd, to distinguish it from Chehḍî Budruk close to it in the Nâsik *tâlukâ*.

5. Dadhivâhala and 6. Paḍalâvadapaṭana.

These localities occur in the partly forged Daulatâbâd grant,[6] edited by Mr. D. R. Bhaṇḍârkar, which prove that Dhruva usurped the throne, deposing Givinda II. Of the boundaries of the village, which appeared to Mr. Bhaṇḍârkar something like Sâmira, two can easily be identified. The village situated on thewest is Dadhivâhala. This would naturally assume the form Dahivâḷ, *dahi* being the Prâkṛit form of the Sanskṛit word *dadhi*. Dahivâl is in the Mâlegaon *tâlukâ*. The name of the village on the north is given as Paḍalâvadapaṭana, the latter part of which would be dropped and the former would become Pâḍalâd very naturally. It is 4 miles from Dahivâḷa.

[3] *Ante*, July 1913, p. 207.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 296ff.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 183.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., pp. 193 to 198.

BOOK NOTICE.

ŚIVA-SÛTRA-VIMARŚINÎ AND PRATYABHIJÑÂ-HṚIDAYA, Nos. 2 and 4 of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. By J. C. Chatterji, B.A. (Cantab.) Vidyâvâridhi. Printed at the Nirṇaya-Sâgar Press, Bombay.

THE Archæological and Research Department of the Jammu and Kashmir State has been under the distinguished patronage of H. H. the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, preparing for publication a number of Sanskrit and Kashmiri works, which have so far remained unpublished, and which are called the "Kashmir series of Texts and Studies." The works under review form Nos. 2 and 4 of this comprehensive series. The editor has undoubtedly rendered great service to the cause of Kashmir Śaivism by the publication of these two works. The first gives the *sûtras* called *Śiva-sûtras*, and a commentary on the same by Kshemarâja. These *sûtras*, according to tradition, were revealed to Vasugupta, who handed them on to his pupils, who interpreted them in several ways. Kshemarâja, the commentator, says at the very beginning, that there lived on the Mahâdeva-giri, the great teacher, by name Vasugupta, who, always devoted to the worship of Śiva, received an inspiration from the same. Once, the great Śiva, being moved to pity by the unsatisfactory condition of the world of mortals, inundated as it was with the doctrines of Duality, wished that the doctrine of Unity should be spread, and hence appeared to this Vasugupta in a dream, and gave him to understand thus:—'On this same mountain, on a great slab of stone, there lies the secret; know it and proclaim it to those who are worthy of the favour.' On getting up, Vasugupta searched for the stone. As he approached it, he turned it round with his hand and found his dream realized. This is the origin of the *Śiva-sûtras*'.

Kshemarâja, who names himself as the pupil of Abhinavagupta, represents one school of interpretation, as opposed to that of Kallaṭa and his followers. It should be noticed here that the *Śiva-sûtras* must not be confounded with the *Spanda-sûtras*, as Bühler seems to do. In his *Kashmir Report of 1875-76*, one manuscript, really containing the *Śiva-sûtras*, which we have before us now, is named *Spanda-sûtra* without any reason.[1] That *Śiva-sûtras* and *Spanda-sûtras* must be the names of two different collections of *sûtras* follows from what Kshemarâja remarks on p. 3 of the 1st volume before us—' तत्पारम्पर्यप्राप्तानि स्पन्दसूत्राणि अस्माभिः स्पन्दनिर्णये सम्यक् निर्णीतानि । शिवसूत्राणि तु निर्णीयन्ते ।'—

The *Śiva-sûtras* are divided into three sections, called *unmesha*, dealing with the three remedies of attaining to Unity of Śiva, without which freedom from this worldly existence is impossible. The three remedies are technically called *śâmbhava*, *śâkta* and *âṇava*. Thus the *Śiva-sûtras* and so the *Vimarśinî* also do not give us any satisfactory idea of what the philosophy of Śaivism is, except only incidentally, but at once proceed to show men, in the words of the editor himself, 'a practical way of realising by experience the fact that man is essentially.........no other than the Deity himself, and of enabling him, in virtue of this realisation, to attain not only to absolute freedom from all that limits him and subjects him, as a helpless creature, to the sorrows and sufferings of limited existence—but also to gain the omniscience like the Deity himself, indeed, as one with him'.

Thus it would be seen at a glance that the *Śiva-sûtra-vimarśinî* is not at all the book with which one should commence his study of Kashmir Śaivism. One is at first likely to think that the *sûtras* may provide us with an outline of Śaivism from the philosophical and argumentative point of view, as is for instance the case with *Nyâya-sûtras*. But the reader is disabused of this illusion as soon as he goes to the fifth *sûtra*. Besides, the over-abundance of the technical terms of the *Mantra-śâstra* and the uncouthness of style have rendered the book a hard nut to crack, and in the prose of Kshemarâja we miss the fluency and literary finish which characterise many a similar manual of *Vedânta*.

The second volume, however, named *Pratyabhijñâ-hṛidaya* is calculated to be more useful to the beginner than the first, by its very nature. As the name signifies, it aims at giving the essence in brief of the *Pratyabhijñâ* or the doctrine of 'Recognition,' in twenty *sûtras* with a commentary on them, by Kshemarâja. Thus this book 'bears the same relation to the *Advaita* Saiva system of Kashmir as the *Vedântasâra* of Sadânanda does to the Vedânta system. That is to say, it is intended to be an easy introduction to, and a summary of the doctrines of, the system.'

All the same, one must not be too sanguine about the usefulness of the treatise, in the absence of some preliminary knowledge of Śaivism.

The editor, too, has not come to our help by giving a short sketch in the preface, but he only refers us to his book 'Kashmir Śaivism', which is intended to be a general introduction to the history and doctrine of the system in question, but which, unfortunately, has not seen the light of day as yet.

The *Pratyabhijñâ* doctrine, with which both the volumes before us deal, and which is called by the editor, by the general name of Kashmir Śaivism, corresponds really to the *Pratyabhijñâ darśana* in

[1] Bühler's *Kashmir Report*, p. clxvii. The same point has been referred to by Sir R. G. Bhaṇḍârkar in his 'Report 1883-84. (Section on Saivism.)

the *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* of Mâdhavâchârya, and not to the *Saiva-darṣana*, which immediately precedes it in the same work. Mâdhavâchârya introduces this 'Recognitive system' thus—'Other Mâheśvaras are dissatisfied with the views set out in the Śaiva system as erroneous in attributing to motiveless and insentient things causality in regard to the bondage and liberation of transmigrating spirits. They, therefore, seek another system, and proclaim that the construction of the world or series of environments of these spirits is by the mere will of the Supreme Lord. They pronounce that this Supreme Lord, who is at once other than and the same with the several cognitions and cognita, who is identical with the transcendent Self posited by one's own consciousness, by rational proof and by revelation, and who possesses independence, that is, the power of witnessing all things without reference to aught ulterior,[2] gives manifestation in the mirror of one's own soul to all entities, as if they were images reflected upon it. Thus looking upon Recognition as a new method for the attainment of ends, and of the highest end, to all men alike without any the slightest trouble and exertion such as external and internal worship, suppression of the breath and the like, these Mâheśvaras set forth the system of Recognition.' The very first *Śiva-sûtra* चैतन्यमात्मा is quoted by Mâdhava, and the verse which Mâdhava quotes and attributes to Vasuguptâchârya, *viz.*—

निरुपादानसंभारमभित्तावेव तन्वते ।
जगच्चित्रं नमस्तस्मै कलाश्लाघ्याय शूलिने ॥

corresponds to the second *sûtra* of Kshemarâja, *viz.*—'स्वेच्छया स्वभित्तौ विश्वमुन्मिलयति-'.

Intelligence is the nature and essence of all. Thus the individual soul is the same as the supreme soul. If it is so, why is the recognition of the same fact necessary? In order to make perfect the sameness which no doubt already exists. And a striking instance to illustrate this is given by Mâdhavâchârya. A love-sick woman is not consoled by the mere presence of the lover, unless it is so recognized by her. In the same way, the bondage due to ignorance is not put an end to, unless a recognition of the sameness of the lower and the higher soul, which is always existing, is produced by virtue of the instruction of a teacher, etc.[3]

One more point to be noticed in connection with *Pratyabhijñâ-hṛidaya* is the *sûtra* No. 8 'तद्भूमिकाः सर्वदर्शनस्थितयः' and the explanation thereof. The different systems of philosophy, or rather the different views held regarding the various problems of philosophy, for instance, by the Chârvâkas, the Naiyâyikas, the Bauddhas, the Mîmâṁsakas, the Pâñcharâtras, the Sâṁkhyas and so on, are, the *sûtra* says, only so many stages in the progress of knowledge arising from a more or less partial eclipsing of the real nature of the Supreme Self and of his perfect independence, the final and the most perfect stage being represented by the *Pratyabhijñâ* doctrine.

This Kshemarâja, the author of the *Śiva-sûtra-vimarśinî* and *Pratyabhijñâ-hṛidya*, lived in the first half of the 11th century A. D.[4]. He was also called by the name of Kshemendra and was the pupil of Abhinava-gupta, and wrote many other treatises amongst which are *Spanda-nirṇaya*, *Svachchhandodyota* and commentaries on several Saiva works.

The get-up of the books is excellent, and the works are, on the whole, carefully and critically edited. Again, the several appendices at the end greatly add to the utility of the volumes. However, we cannot but notice a few defects in the writing of the text. In the first place there is no uniform principle regarding the putting-in of dashes (which are in our opinion generally superfluous) between the different members of a compound word, (see line 8, p. 4, *Śiva-sûtra vimarśinî*.) Secondly, the use of commas and semi-colons is not very discreet and sometimes tends to make a sentence even more illegible than otherwise (*e. g.*, the long sentence on p. 6, *Vimarśinî*). Thirdly, no uniformity is observed in making *saṁdhis*. Thus on p 10 of *Vimarśinî*, we have 'सत् आस्ति इति,' 'कथम् अयं,' and 'बन्ध इत्या...' 'संहितया इतरथा च अकार...' On p. 13 of the same we have 'बन्धो ; यावद्.' On p. 17, we have 'अन्तरऽभेदात्...' where the purpose of the *avagraha* sign is not clearly seen. It is to be sincerely hoped that the editor will attend even to these minor points in the publication of the other volumes of his comprehensive series, to make them flawless, so far as possible.

V. S. GHATE.

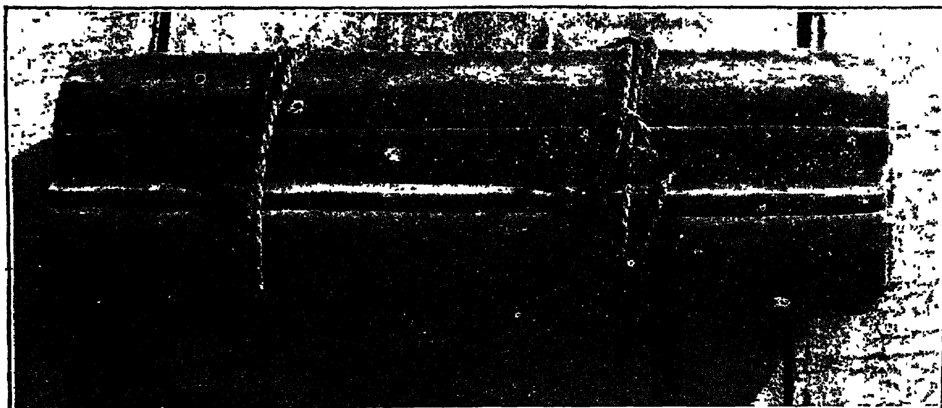
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[2] This is how Professor Gough renders the word 'अनन्यमुखप्रेक्षित्वलक्षणस्वातन्त्र्य...' which should be rendered thus: 'independence consisting in not having to look up to the faces of others,' *i.e.*, solely depending on himself.

[3] नायकगुणगणसंश्रवणप्रवृद्धानुरागा काचन कामिनी मदनविह्वला विरहक्लेशमसहमाना मदनलेखावलम्बनेन स्वावस्थानिवेदनानि विधत्ते, तथा वेगात्तन्निकटमटत्यपि तस्मिन्नवलोकितेऽपि तदवलोकनं तदीयगुणपरामर्शाभावे जनसाधारणत्वं प्राप्ते हृदयंगमभावं न लभते। यदा तु मूर्तिवचनात्तदीयगुणपरामर्शं करोति तदा तत्क्षणमेव पूर्णभावमभ्येति। एवं स्वात्मनि विश्वेश्वरात्मना भासमानेऽपि तन्निर्भासनं तदीयगुणपरामर्शविरहसमये पूर्णभावं न संपादयाति। यदा तु गुरुवचनादिना सर्वज्ञत्वसर्वकर्तृत्वादिलक्षणपरमेश्वरोत्कर्षपरामर्शो जायते तदा तत्क्षणमेव पूर्णात्मतालाभः।' *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* (Ânandâshram Sk. Series), p, 79.

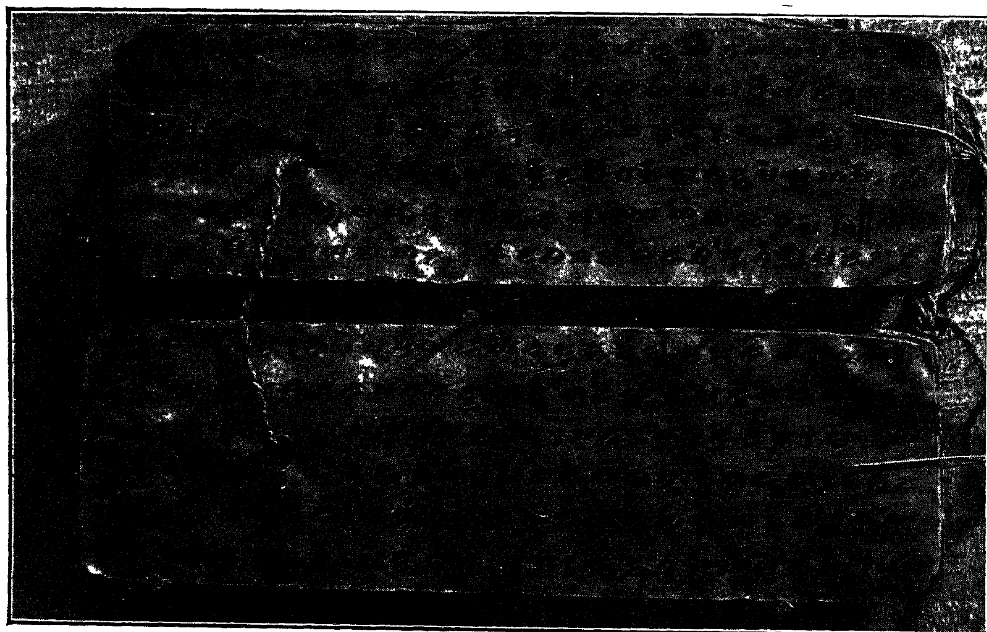
[4] Bühler's *Report*, p. 82,

Fig. 6.



Pôthî found in the Ming-oï of Qizil. (*Unopened*).

Fig. 7.



The same Pôthî. (*Opened.*)

THE OBSOLETE TIN CURRENCY AND MONEY OF THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Concluded from p. 254.*)

APPENDIX VII.

Synopsis of Malay Currency, 1800-1835.

IN examining the evidence to establish the identity of the Achin five-doit piece I went through the whole of the Malay currency reported by Milburn, *Oriental. Commerce*, 2nd ed., 1813, Vol. II, and by Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, 2nd ed., 1835, Vol. I (*s. vv.* under East Indies), who includes in his report Milburn's information and that sent him officially. I give here a synopsis of the result. In the following summaries M. stands for Milburn and the figures that follow for the page in his Vol. II; K. stands for Kelly and the figures for the page in his Vol. I.

1.

Spanish Influence Paramount.

Money of Account.

Philippines; Manilla (K. 109, M. 430): Scale.

Proportion	Scale			
372	34	maravedi	=	real
8	8	real	=	peso (dollar)

2.

Dutch Influence Paramount.

Money of Account.

(*a*) Rixdollars of 48 stivers, value 3*s.* 4*d.* Sumatra; Padang (M. 346): Borneo, Banjarmasin (K. 99).

(*b*) Rixdollars of 48 stivers, value 3*s.* 6*d.* Sumatra; Palembang (K. 112, M. 34).

(*c*) Rixdollars (value 4*s.* 7*d.*) and stivers. Celebes; Macassar (K. 109, M. 409).

(*d*) Sp. dollars, value 5*s.* Java; Batavia (K. 100, M. 351): Kaupang (M. 386).

(*e*) Rixdollars, value 3*s.* 4*d.* and Sp. dollars value 5*s.* 4*d.* (M. 406). Moluccas; Ternate (K. 120, M. 406).

(*f*) Scales: value of rixdollar 3*s.* 4*d.*

Moluccas; Amboyna (K. 97, M. 396).					Peninsula; Malacca (K. 108; M. 318).				
Proportion.	Scale				Proportion.[100]	Scale.			
192	4	doit	=	stiver	192	4	doit	=	stiver
48	4	stiver	=	dubbeltje	48	6	stiver	=	schilling
12	1½	dubbeltje	=	schilling[1]					
8	8	schillings	=	dollar	8	8	schilling	=	dollar

Moluccas; Banda.

(K. 99).

Proportion	Scale			
768	16	penning	=	stiver
48	6	stiver	=	schilling
	8	schilling	=	dollar
	(∴ 4	penning	=	doit)

[100] *Cf.* 192 pie to the rupee, see *ante*, p. 105.

[1] Milburn's scale stops at schillings.

Coins in use.

(*a*) European and Indian.

Java ; Batavia (K. 100, M. 351) : Sumatra; Padang (M. 346).

(*b*) European and Indian valued in stivers.[2]

Moluccas ; Amboyna (K. 97): Peninsula ; Malacca (K. 100).

(*c*) Spanish dollars and other coins.

Moluccas; Ternate (K. 120), Sp. dollars[3] 4*s.* 7*d.* (M. 396), ducatoons (4/5 Sp. dollars), crowns at 2% premium on Sp. dollars (K. 120, M. 396) : Celebes ; Macassar, Sp. dollars[4] 4*s.* 7*d.* European and Indian coins : Sumatra; Palembang (K. 112, M. 347), Sp. dollars 5*s.* 5*d.*, and holed cash, 500 = 1 parcel, 16 parcels = Sp. dollar = 80,000 cash to the dollar.

3. European Influence.

A. Dollar with Native Divisions.

Money of Account.

Peninsula ; Selangor (K. 115, M. 316), 8 tampang = rixdollar : Celebes ; Macassar (K. 107 7 mas = rixdollar.

Scales

Sumatra ; Sĕngkel (K. 118, M. 332).

Proportion.	Scale.		
64	16 tali[5]	=	suku
	4 suku	=	tahil
		=	4 Sp. dollar
	(∴ suku	=	dollar)

Sumatra ; Benkulen. (K. 101).

Proportion.	Scale.		
32	8 tali[6]	=	suku
4	4 suku	=	dollar

Peninsula ; Trengganu. (K. 121, M. 323).

Proportion.	Scale.		
25,600	400 pitis[7]	=	kupang[8]
64	64 kupang	=	mas
16	16 mas	=	dollar
4	4 dollar	=	tahil
	(∴ 6,400 pitis	=	dollar)

Coins in use.

(*a*) Sp. dollar.

Peninsula ; Trengganu (K. 121, M. 323).

(*b*) Sp. dollar, value 5*s.*

Sumatra; Sĕngkel (K. 118, M. 332), Benkulen (K. 101).

B. Dollars with mixed Native and European Divisions.

Money of Account.

Scale.

Java; Batavia (K. 100).

Proportion.	Scale.		
48	2 stiver	=	cash
24	3 cash	=	tali
8	2 tali	=	suku
(4	4 suku	=	dollar)[9]

[2] Milbourn says, p. 318, "in schillings."

[3] *I. e.*, 4/3 rixdollar.

[4] *I. e.*, 5/4 rixdollar.

[5] reported (K. 118) as *satallie.*

[6] reported (K. 101) as *satallie, sataller.*

[7] reported (K. 121) as *patties* ; (M. 323) as *patties.*

[8] reported (K. 121, M. 323) as *cossang.*

[9] Supplied : not in K. 100 ; *suku* = one quarter dollar.

5. Indian Influence.

Money of Account.

Sumatra; Natal (K. 112, M. 334), Sp. dollar of 24 fanam or tali; Java; Batavia (K. 100) 50 pitis[10] = stiver, ∴ 15,000 pitis = rupee of 30 stivers.

Scales.

Sumatra; Tapanuli.

(K. 120).

Proportion.	Scale.
400	16⅔ kĕping = fanam
24	24 fanam = dollar

(M. 334).

Proportion.	Scale.
400	100 kĕping = suku
4	4 suku = dollar

Sumatra; Benkulen.

(K. 101)

Proportion.	Scale.
24	2 single fanam = double fanam
12	6 double fanam = rupee
2	2 rupee = Sp. dollar

Peninsula; Penang.

(K. 114, M. 299).

Proportion.	Scale.
100	10 pice[11] = kupang
	10 kupang = Sp. dollar
	(∴ pice = cent)

Coins in use.

(*a*) Sumatra; Natal (K. 112), Sp. dollars and rupees, also 1, ½, and ⅓, fanam; (M. 335) Sp. dollars and 1, 2, 3 fanam pieces: Tapanuli (M. 334) dollars of 24 fanams.

(*b*) Java; Batavia (K. 100, M. 351) rupee, value 3*s*. 1½*d*.

Scales.

(K. 100).

Proportion.	Scale.
120	4 doit = stiver
30	2 stiver = cash
15	1¼ cash = dubbeltje
12	3 dubbeltje = schilling
4	4 schilling = rupee

(M. 351).

Proportion.	Scale.
120	4 doit = stiver
30	2½ stiver = dubbeltje
12	3 dubbeltje = schilling
4	4 schilling = rupee

5. Native System.[12]

Money of Account.

(*a*) in mas and tahil.

Borneo; Sakadana (K. 119).

(*b*) Chinese cash.

Peninsula; Bĭntang (Singapore, M. 320): Borneo; Mompara (M. 418).

(*c*) Scales.

Java; Batavia (K. 100).

Proportion.	Scale.
400	10 kĭndĕri = cash
40	4 cash = mas
10	10 mas = tahil
	(∴ tahil = dollar)

Java; Bantam (K. 100, M. 354).

Proportion.	Scale.
10,000	10 pĕku[13] = laksan
1,000	10 laksan = kati
100	10 kati = uta
10	10 uta[14] = bahar
	25,000 — 30,000 cash = dollar
	(∴ 30 — 40 pĕku = dollar)

[10] Made of lead and tin; proportion 4 : 1.

[11] Proportion of pice to *kati* of tin, 16 : 1.

[12] For Achin (K. 97) see *ante*, p. 253. Milburn, 329, has *manna* for Kelly's 'small *mas*.' Milburn gives system at Pedir (351), and Analabu (311) as identical with those of Achin, to which these places were subject.

[13] reported as *pecco*: *pĕku* = Chinese *pak*, a string of cash; see *ante*, p. 215.

[14] *Uta* = string of *kati* here: see *ante*, p. 215.

Coins in use.

(*a*) European and Indian.

Peninsula; Bintang (K. 320) = Singapore: Java; Batavia (K. 100, M. 354).

(*b*) Sp. dollars.

Borneo; Sakadana (K. 119, M. 417); Mompara (M. 418).

(*c*) Native.

Java; Batavia (K. 100), patak and cash.

Scale.

4	cash	=	mas
8	mas	=	patak
(∴24	cash	=	patak)

6. Rough Conditions.

No Coinage.

Currency of Accounts.

(*a*) Tin.

Peninsula; Tocopa (K. 112), bahar of tin (476 *lbs.*): Junkceylon (K. 106) "pieces of tin shaped like the under part of a cone," (see *ante*, p. 19).

(*b*) Measured linen cloths and paddy[15] (rice in husk).

Sulu Archipelago (K. 107, M. 424): Philippines; Magindanao (K. 107, M. 417) in *kangan* (coarse cloth) and paddy.

Coins used by Europeans.

(*a*) Chinese cash.

Philippines; Magindanao (M. 417), 160-180 to a *kangan*.

(*b*) Sp. dollars.

Peninsula; Kedah (M. 296), Pahang (M. 320), Pakanga River, Rian (M. 321), Patani (M. 394): Borneo; Pontiana (M. 417) Sambas (M. 419), "Borneo Town" (M 420).

(*c*) Sp. dollars and Portuguese coins.

Java; Deli (M. 386).

(*To be continued.*)

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE ANDHRAS.

BY P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M.A.; VIZAGAPATAM.

MR. Vincent A. Smith, in p. 194 of his *Early History of India*, 2nd edition, says, "In the days of Chandragupta Maurya and Megasthenes, the Ândhra nation, probably a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, occupied the deltas of the Godâvarî and Krishnâ rivers on the Eastern side of India. . . The capital of the State was then Srî Kâkulam, on the lower course of the Krishnâ." The only authority for this statement seems to be a passage from the *Triliṅgânuśâsanam* of Atharvaṇâchârya, quoted by Campbell in his Telugu grammar, where he calls the book *Athurvana vyacurunum.* The passage as translated by Campbell runs as follows :—"Formerly, in the time of Manu Svayambhu, in the Kali age, Hari, the Lord of Andhra, the great Vishnu, the slayer of the Danava Nisumbu, was born in Kakulam, as the son of the monarch Suchandra, and was attended by all the gods as well as reverenced by all mankind. He having constructed a vast wall connecting Srisailam, Bhimesvaram and Kalesvaram, with the Mahendera hills, formed in it three gates, in which the three-eyed Iśvara, bearing the trident in his hand, and attended by a host of divinities, resided in the form of three lingams. Ândhra Vishnu, assisted by angels, having fought with the great giant Nisumbu for thirteen yugas, killed him in battle, and took up his residence with the sages on the banks of the Godâvarî, since which time this country has been named Trilingam. The adherents of Ândhra Vishnu who then resided on the banks of the Godâvarî spoke *tatsama* words. In the course of time, these words, not being properly articulated by the unlearned, by the change or obliteration of letters, or by being

[15] Spelt *paly* by Milburn.

contracted, a fourth or a half, became *tadbhavas*. Those words consisting of nouns, verbals and verbs, created by the God Brahma, before the time of Hari, the Lord of Ândhra, are called *atsa* (pure)." Campbell does not quote directly from Atharvaṇâchârya, but takes the passage from the Ândhra-kaumudi, which quotes it. A manuscript copy of Atharvaṇâchârya's work is to be found in the Madras Government Oriental Library. Campbell adds in a foot-note that Ândhra Vishṇu or Ândhrarâyuḍu, as he was also called, is now worshipped as a divinity at Śrîkâkulam on the river Kṛishṇâ and. . . was the patron of Kaṇva, the first Telugu grammarian." The utter worthlessness of Atharvaṇâchârya's testimony for historical purposes is patent on the face of it. There is no Ândhra king of the name of Suchandra. The first king, according to the *Purâṇas*, of the Ândhra dynasty, was Śimuka, which name has as variants in the *Purâṇas*, Sindhuka, Siśuka, Śipraka, but not Suchandra. Secondly, Atharvaṇâchârya quotes in his book a number of authorities, *e. g.* Vishṇu, Indra, Bṛihaspati, Somachandra or Hemachandra, Kaṇva, Pushpadanta, Dharmarâja, all giving pronouncements on Telugu, but none traceable anywhere. Atharvaṇâchârya also gives a quotation there which, he pretends, is from the *Âtharvaṇaśikhopanishad*, but it is not found in that *Upanishad*. From this we may infer that the quotations were made up by Atharvaṇâchârya. This author is desperately anxious to prove that Telugu may be used in books and has hence manufactured these quotations. Possibly Atharvaṇâchârya is the pseudonymn of a Telugu writer, whose use of Telugu in books was attacked by the purists of the day and who resorted to this method of defending his procedure. This work of Atharvaṇâchârya has not yet been printed, but a *kârikâ* professing to be from the same man has been printed and it reveals the fact that the author has stolen numerous stanzas from Daṇḍin's *Kâvyâdarśa* without even the acknowledgement '*iti*'. Thirdly, Atharvaṇâchârya quotes the so-called *Vâlmîki-sûtras* on Prâkṛit. These *sûtras* have been proved to be the composition of Trivikrama,[1] who lived in the 14th century. Hence Atharvaṇâchârya must have lived later. The statement of Atharvaṇâchârya, that Ândhra Vishṇu lived *on the banks of the Godâvarî*, shows that he was a late writer who lived long after Râjahmundry became the capital of Telugu Râjâs.

The earliest reference to the Ândhras is the passage in the *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa*[2] where the Ândhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and other Dasyu tribes living on the borders of the Aryan tribes, are said to be the descendants of the exiled sons of Viśvâmitra. As the Aryan cult did not extend beyond the Vindhyas in those days, these tribes must have then lived in the Vindhyan region. Even in the age of Bâṇa (7th century A. D.) the Śabaras are mentioned in the *Kâdambarî* as living in the Vindhyan forests. The next reliable[3] reference to the Ândhras is that in Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII, where he claims "the Ândhras and Pulindas" as people in his dominions, who, among others, followed the *dharma* he taught so vigorously. It is to be noted that the Ândhras are here grouped together with the Pulindas, thus showing that they were still living in the central parts of the Peninsula, not far from the Vindhyan range. Soon after Aśoka's death, the Ândhras rose to prominence. Râya Śimuka Śâtavâhana, who, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, lived about 220 B. C., was the first king of the dynasty. His name, as well as that of a later Ândhra king, Śirî Sâtakaṇi, are cut under figures of persons in the back wall of a cave at Nânâghâṭ.[4] The next king was Kṛishṇa, whose lieutenant scooped out a cave at Nasik, which was apparently his capital. The next reference to Ândhra kings is found in the inscription of Khâravêla, king of Kaliṅga, in the Hâthigumphâ cave,[5] where Khâravêla says that in the

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XL. p. 219 ff.

[2] VII. 18; also *Śâṅkhâyana-sûtra*, XV. 16

[3] The reference to "the Pâṇḍyas, Drâviḍas, Uḍras, Keralas and Ândhras" in *Sabhâparvan*, XXXI and to "the Ândhras, Pâṇḍyas, Cholas and Keralas" in *Râmâyaṇa*, iv. 41 are not useful for historical purposes, from the fact that these *Itihâsas* have been the result of centuries of growth. The references may prove that either the final reduction of the *Itihâsas* was made. or at least the particular *ślokas* were composed not earlier than the 3rd century, B. C. when these states rose to fame and were first mentioned together.

[4] Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. V. p. 59.

[5] *Tr. In Or. Con.* III. p. 174.

second year of his reign (168 B. C.) "Sâtakaṇi, protecting the west sent a numerous army of horses, elephants, men and chariots" apparently to help him in his operations against Magadha. This Sâtakaṇi was either the third or fifth king of the list of Ândhra kings in the *Matsya-Purâṇa.* The Ândhra territory was hence, still in "the west" of Kaliṅga. Next comes the cave inscription at Pitalkhora near Châlisgaon cut in characters of the 2nd century B. C. and referring to the king at Paiṭhaṇ or Pratishṭhâna. The centre of Ândhra influence is still in western India.[6] The next Ândhra king we hear of is Hâla, the 17th king, who, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith lived *circa* 68 A. D. The *Bṛihat-kathâ,* the original of Kshemendra's *Bṛihat-kathâ-mañjarî* and Somadeva's *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara,* said to have been written in the Paiśâchî dialect by Guṇâḍhya, was composed, according to tradition, for the sake of this king's wife, who must, therefore, have been a northern princess. Hâla is the reputed author of *Saptaśatî,* an anthology of erotic verses in the ancient **Mahârâshṭrî** tongue. This fact and the other one, that the Ândhra inscriptions are all in some form of Prâkṛit, prove that the Ândhras spoke some kind of proto-Mahârâshṭrî. In modern usage Ândhra means Telugu; and hence many historians assume that the ancient Ândhras spoke Telugu. Sir Walter Elliot in his discussion of the question in the *Numismata Orientalia,*[7] hopelessly mixes up the Kaliṅgas, the Triglypton of Ptolemy, Trikaliṅgam, Triliṅgam, Telugus, and Ândhras and takes an imaginary Kaliṅga-Ândhra tribe to have migrated from the Gangetic region, the Ândhra tribe separating off in Orissa, first settling on the Chilka Lake, then going down the coast to the Godâvarî-Kṛishṇâ valley and shooting up into the Deccan, and accomplishing this itinerary in an impossibly short space of time! Not to speak of the blending into one of so many tribes by Sir Walter Elliot, even the assumption that the ancient Ândhras spoke Telugu is an entirely gratuitous one. If the ancient Ândhras had been Telugus, Telugu literature would have been born in the early years of the Christian era, in the palmy days of Ândhra supremacy in India, whereas its birth took place in the 11th century A. D. when undoubted Telugu princes, *i. e.* princes whose mother-tongue was Telugu, whatever their (ultimate) origin, reigned in the Telugu country.

The next reference to the Ândhras is in Pliny (77. A.D.)[8] where he says that "the Ândhra territory, stronger (than other territories of India) included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants." The Ândhras must have been dominant throughout India at this epoch, as references to them are found in inscriptions in various parts of India. Their sway extended from sea to sea in Central India and up to Sâñchî in the north.[9] The *Periplûs,* which was written at about the same time as Pliny's *Natural History,* says, "Beyond Barygaza (Broach), the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south; and so this region is called Dachinabades, for *Dachanos* in the language of the natives means south. The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts—leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts; and many populous nations, as far as the Ganges. This is the first clear[10] reference to the Ândhra country by the name Dakshiṇâpatha, which still survives as the Deccan.

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6 *Bom. Gaz.* I. ii. p. 147.

7 P. 10.

8 *Hist. Nat.* VI. 224

9 *Ep. Ind.* ii. 88.

10 Dakshiṇâpadâ is mentioned in the *Ṛig-Veda* vii. 33—6 as a place of exile; it meant of course the Vindhyan region, which was in those days outside the pale of the Aryan fire-cult. Dakshiṇâpatha occurs in the *Baudhâyana Dharma-sûtra* (I. i. 2. 13), coupled with Saurâshṭra. It occurs in the *Mahâbhârata, Sabhâ-Parvan,* xxxi. 17, when Sahadeva is said to have gone to the Dakshiṇâpatha after defeating the Pulindas and the Pâṇḍyas. In Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya* on Pâṇini, I, i. 19, also, the word Dakshiṇâpatha occurs. In all these places it probably means the Andhra territory, but we cannot be certain that it is so. In the *Purâṇas,* Dakshiṇâpatha is clearly defined, but we cannot use it in historical investigations, since the question of the dates of the composition of the *Puraṇas* is a hopeless of solution. Similarly the Ândhra country is, in the *Saktisaṅgamatantra,* said to be above Jagannâth and behind Bhramarâtmika, and the next country is said to be Saurâshṭra (*Vide Sabdakalpadruma* i. *sub deśaḥ*). This *tântra* work is apparently a recent one and is absolutely unauthoritative.

The *Periplûs* mentions Paiṭhâṇ as one of the two principal market-towns of Dachinabades; and then refers to another market-town on the coast, "the city of Calliena, which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandanes the port is much obstructed and Greek ships lying there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard." Calliena is certainly the modern Kalyâṇ, near Bombay. Saraganus is probably Sâtakaṇi, the title used by most Ândhra kings; and Sandanes is Sundara, the 20th Ândhra king, in the *Matsya-Purâṇa* list; if so, the elder Sarganus is perhaps his immediate predecessor, Pulindasêna (a noteworthy name associating the Pulindas still with the Ândhras), also called Purindrasena, during whose time, Sundara was, as usual in ancient India, viceroy of part of the country. Kalyâṇ was in the district administered by Sundara. By this time Śaka Satraps of the Kshaharâṭa clan had risen to power in Gujarat and seized some of the northern territories of the Ândhras, their early leaders being Bhûmaka and Nahapâna. The initial date of the Śaka era is by some historians held to mark the establishment of Śaka power under Nahapâna; if this is correct, Nambanus, whom the *Periplûs* names as the king of the country round Barygaza is probably the same as Nahapâna; whether this identification is correct or not, it is certain the rise of Śaka power in this age made the port of Kalyâṇ dangerous to foreign ships, the Ândhra viceroy not being able to guard the post efficiently, against Śaka depredations.

The Śakas and the Ândhras were in constant conflict from this time and the Ândhras gradually lost their western dominions and were driven to the east. Viḷivâyakura II[11] fought with them in 126 A. D., and his mother Balasiri tells us in the Nâsik cave Inscription[12] that her son "destroyed the Śakas," but we find that the Śakas continued to reign at Ujjain till Chandragupta II. Vikramâditya, extinguished the dynasty about 409 A. D.; Rudradâman, the Śaka Satrap, fought with his son-in-law, "the lord of Dakshiṇâpatha," Puḷumâyi, son of Viḷivâyakura II,[13] and desisted from destroying him, because he was his son-in-law, in 150 A. D.[14]

This phrase "destroyed the Śakas," used in Balasiri's inscription, like all other phrases therein descriptive of Viḷivâyakura, ought to be taken with many grains of salt, for they form a mere eulogy of the king composed by a court-poet, and secondly, subsequent events have disproved the destruction of the Śakas and the consequent stoppage of the "contamination of the four castes" (also referred to in the eulogy), Puḷumâyi, son of Viḷivâyakura and king while this inscription was incised, having married the daughter of the Śaka Rudradâman. But yet Elliot and others have deduced from this phrase that Viḷivâyakura was the head of a great revolution and gained a national victory; Cunningham has gone one better and made him found the great Śaka era, in commemoration of the event.

Ptolemy, the geographer, (in his *Geog.*, VII. 17) writing in 151 A. D., after describing Larike, the Lâṭ or Gujarât coast, describes the Ariake coast (a name used by the *Periplûs* also), which he divides into two parts, Ariake Sadinon and Ariake Andron Peiratôn. The latter phrase is usually translated Ariake of the Pirates, but Sir James Campbell in *Bom. Gaz.*, Thana, ii, 415,

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[11] From Viḷivâyakura I, the Ândhra kings used metronymic titles, *e.g.* Vâsiṭhîputa, Mâḍharîputa, Gotamîputa, etc., just as in Vedic times people were called Kauśikîputra, Kautsîputra, Âlambiputra, Vaiyâgrahapadîputra, etc. Does this mean that the Ândhras were now definitely drawn into the Brâhmaṇ polity and recognized as orthodox Kshatriyas, bearing names like the hallowed ones in the Vedas? It certainly does *not* warrant Sir Walter Elliot's conclusion that one of the Râjâs that bear metronymics, *i. e*, the third of them, Viḷivâyakura II. Gotamîputra Śâtakaṇi, was "a bold adventurer" who seized the throne; this Sir Walter Elliot has inferred because the mother's name "is found so remarkably associated with that of her son." (*Num. Orient* p. 19). That this deduction is absolutely unwarranted will be readily seen if it is remembered that dozens of Vedic names are metronymic and among the later Ândhra kings, at least seven have a similar title.

[12] *Ep. Ind.* viii, 61.

[13] Another view regarding Viḷivâyakura and the son-in-law of Rudradâman has been set forth in my *Epigraphic Notes and Questions*, nos. IV and V published in the *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII—D. R. B.

[14] *Ibid.* 47.

argues that the phrase means Ariake[15] of the Ândhrabhṛityas. Besides this, Ptolemy mentions (*Ib.* vii. 1. 82) Baithana as the royal seat of Siro Polemaios and Hippokoura as the royal seat of Baleokouros. The former is certainly Paiṭhaṇ, the capital of Siri Puḷumâyi or Puḷumâvi, and the latter place, which is identified with Kolhâpur, by most authorities was the royal seat of Viḷivâyakura II. Puḷumâyi was his son and viceroy (*yuvarâja*) at Paiṭhaṇ. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Nasik of Pulumâyi's time occurs the phrase *Dhanakaṭasamanehi*, meaning by the Samaṇas of Dhanakaṭa. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has suggested that this may be a wrong reading and the original may be read as *Dhanakaṭa-sâminehi* or *Dhanakaṭa-sâmiyehi*, by the lord of Dhanakaṭa [16](ka). Bhandarkar is clearly wrong, as Senart points out in *Ep. Ind.* viii, 69, Dhanakaṭaka is a hypothetical name, and the actual names of the place near Amarâvati being Dhaṁñakaṭaka[17] in the fourth century A. D., Dhanakaḍa (*vide infra*), Hiouen Tsang's To-na-kie-tse-kia,[18] Dhânayavâtîpura in an inscription of 1361 A. D., and Dharaṇikoṭa of modern times. Thus the name Dhanakaṭaka is as much a myth as that Amarâvatî or any place near it was an Ândhra capital. Senart himself guesses that Dhanakaṭa is a misreading for Benâkaṭa, which occurs in another inscription of the same reign. This conjecture of Bhandarkar's is the only source of the assertion made by most writers on Ândhra history that Dhanakaṭaka, near Amarâvatî, was the Ândhra capital from the time of the second Ândhra king, Kṛishṇa. Among others, Burgess[19] makes this statement without giving the authority for it and also needlessly accuses the Ândhra kings of constantly changing their capitals. About 200 A. D. Nâgârjuna is said in a Tibetan life of his, to have "surrounded Dhanakaṭaka with a railing." I-t'sing, the Chinese traveller, says that Nâgârjuna's patron was of the So-to-pho-han-na family; Hiouen Tsang calls him So-to-pho-lo. These names are probably to be equated with Śâtakaṇi or Sâtavâhana, the proper name of the king being either Siri Puḷumâvi or Siri Yaña.[20] It is noteworthy that among the numerous scraps of inscriptions found at Amarâvatî, the only[21] reference to an Ândhra king is *V* [*âsi*]*th*[*i*]*puta*[*sa*]*s*[*â*]*m*[*i*] *Siri Pulumâvisa savachhara.* This itself is sufficient proof that the place is wrongly called Dhanakaṭaka was never the capital of the Ândhras. Another late Ândhra inscription is the one found in the Kṛishṇâ district of the 27th year *raño Gotamiputasa araka siri Yaña Sâtakanisa.* [22]

Numismatic evidence, so far as has been obtained, corroborates the above view. The legends of the Ândhra coins are all in Prâkṛit, as their inscriptions are. The earliest Ândhra coins are two, bearing the name of Siri Sata (c. 68 B. C.) and the so-called Ujjain symbol—the cross and balls device, which probably originated in Mâlwâ. The "bow and arrow" coins of Viḷivâyakura I, Sivâlakura and Viḷivâyakura II (84 A. D.—138 A. D.) were all found only at Kolhâpûr. The later coins of the latter half of the second century and the early part of the third century, *i. e.*, those of Puḷumâyi and his successors (138 A. D.—229 A. D.) have been found *only* in the Godâvarî and the Kṛishṇâ districts, which alone formed the dominion of the later Ândhras when the Śakas on the west and the Pallavas in the south hemmed them in. Mr. Vincent A. Smith who has discussed the Ândhra coinage in *Z. D. M. G.* 1903, has remarked that "the Ândhra coinage, although geographically to be classed with the southern issues, is *Northern and Western* in its

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[15] Ptolemy mentions *Larike*, *Ariake*, and *Damirike* as being in the west coast of India. *Larike* has been unanimously held to be the *Lâṭika* country, that of the Lâṭs. So *Damirike* was the Hellenized form of a possible *Dramiḍaka*, (the country) of the Dramiḍas or Dravidas. *Damirike* has been identified with the Tamil word *Tamilagam*, but the uniform ending *ke* indicates an identity of origin and *ke* is therefore the Sanskrit suffix *ka*. *Ariake* has baffled most people. Has it anything to do with *Ariyaka*, supposed to be the original of the title *Araka*, meaning lord, a title given to Siri Yaño (*Ep. Ind.* i. 96) and *Mahâ airaka*, equivalent to *Mahâ Âryaka*, an obscure word which occurs in Puḷumâyi's inscription above referred to? The expression is *maha-airakena odena.* The reading of the latter word and the meaning of both are involved in doubt.

[16] I regret I cannot bring myself to agree with the French savant in this respect. What is read as *Dhanakaṭa* can also be read as *Dhamnakaṭa*; and as, in Nâsik inscriptions, *n* is used instead of *ñ* (compare *e. g. ânapayati* of the same Nâsik inscription), Dhamnakaṭa can very well be taken to be equivalent to Dhamñakaṭaka. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's view, therefore, still stands incontrovertible.—D. R. B.

[17] *A. S. S. I. Amar.* and *Jag.* p. 90.

[18] *Ante* xi. 95.

[19] *A. S. S. I. Amar.* and *Jag.* p. 4.

[20] *Ib.* pp. 7-13.

[21] It is not possible to identify *Raña Sivamaka Sada* of Amarâvati (*A. S. S. I. Amar.* and *Jag.* p. 61) or *Raña Mâḍhariputa Ikhâkuṇâm siri Vîrapurisadata* of Jaggayyapêṭa (*ib* 110.)

[22] *Ep. Ind.* i. 96.

affinities, and has *nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of the South.*" The gratuitous assumption that the Ândhras were a south-eastern tribe is the cause of this apparent anomaly. It has been proved above that there is not a shadow of evidence to assume that the original home of the Ândhras was the east coast of south India and all reliable documents indicate that their original home was south of the Vindhyas, as their coins also prove.

In the third century A. D., the Ândhra dominions in the west passed into the hands of the Sakas whose capital was Ujjain. The eastern Ândhra territory was acquired by the Pallavas, the earliest king of which dynasty, so far as has been made out from epigraphical evidence, was Śivaskandavarmâ. The Pallava capital was Kâñchîpuram and the Ândhra district of the Pallavas was called 'Ândhrâpatha.'[23] This name, translated into Tamil, Vaḍugavaḷi, 12,000, was in use even in the 9th century A. D.[24] Dhañakaḍa, which is the same as Dhaṁñakaḍa of the Amarâvatî inscription already referred to, was the capital of a Pallava governor in Śivaskandavarma's time, at about the beginning of the fourth century. Now for the first[25] time we hear of Dhañyakaḍa as a capital of any kind. In the year 340 A. D. when Samudragupta went round India on a *digvijaya* tour, he vanquished Hastivarmâ of Vêṅgi (now Pedda Vêgi, eight miles north of Ellore), a Pallava viceroy of another part of the Ândhrâmaṇḍalam wrested from the Ândhra King by the Pallavas. Vêṅgi was also called Ândhranagaram.[26] But the Ândhra kings and the Ândhra tribes have disappeared without any trace from the 3rd century A. D. We do not hear of them in Samudragupta's inscription, nor in the *Raghuvaṁśa* where a *digvijaya* similar to that of the great Gupta conqueror is attributed to the mythical Raghu. The word Ândhra now became the name of a territory. As such it is mentioned by Hiouen Tsang, who visited the province in the 7th century A. D., about 30 years after the Eastern Châḷukya dynasty was founded at Vêṅgi by Kubja Vishṇuvarddhana. The Chinese traveller says that he went from (southern) Kosala (Berar) to the country of Ândhra ('An-ta-lo), "through a great forest, south, after 900 li or so." He calls its capital Ping-ki-lo (? Vêṅginâḍu). He says that not far from the city is "a great Saṅghârâma with storeyed towers and balconies beautifully carved and ornamented." The extensive Buddhist ruins at Guntupalli, 16 miles from PeddaVêgi, are perhaps relics of this Saṅghârâma. "These consist of a chaitya cave, a circular chamber with a simple façade containing a *dâgaba* cut in the solid rock, and several sets of *vihâra* caves with entrance halls and chambers on each side."[27] Hiouen Tsang says of the Ândhra country, "The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and produces abundance of cereals. The temperature is hot." This applies very well to the Ellore Taluk, which is the modern representative of the ancient Vêṅgirâshṭram. Hiouen Tsang also says, "the language and arrangement of sentences differ from Mid-India (where Kosala was) but with reference to the shapes of the letters, they are nearly the same." The language referred to by the keenly observant Chinese traveller, is the Proto-Telugu evolved in the Godâvarî-Kṛishṇâ valley, the (later) literary form of which was used by Nannayya Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Telugu *Mahâbhâratamu*, who lived in the 11th century, and, who, so far as I can discover, was the first person to call the Telugu language by the name of Ândhra.

We thus find that the Ândhras were a Vindhyan tribe and that the Ândhra kings originally ruled over western India and spoke Prâkṛit and not Telugu. The extension of Ândhra power was from the west to the east down the Godâvarî-Krishṇâ valley. When their power declined in the west, the name Ândhramaṇḍalam travelled to their eastern provinces and stuck to it under Pallava as well as Eastern Châḷukya rule. The word Ândhra was first a tribal name; then it became the name of a dynasty of kings, who ruled in the west; and then it became the name of a language which evolved in the east sometime before the eleventh century. Whence and when and how Telugu arose, what influences fostered its inception and growth is, however, another and a more complicated story, which will be told in a future article.

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[23] *A. S. I.* 06-07 p. 222.

[24] *S. I. I.*, iii, p. 90,

[25] The next occasion when Dhaṁñakaḍa is called a capital is in Hiouen Tsang's description of the place, when it continued to be, it is presumed, the capital of a Pallava viceroy.

[26] *Daśakumâracharitam*, vii,

[27] *Imp. Gaz., Ind.*, xii, 388.

ROCK EDICT VI OF ASOKA.

BY KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW; CALCUTTA.

THE passage:

य च किंचि मुखतो आञपयामि स्वयं
दापकं वा स्रावापकं वा य वा पुन
महामात्रेसु आचायिके[1] आरोपितं भवति
ताय अथाय विवादो निझती व संतो
परिसायंआनंतरं पटिवेदेतव्य मे सर्वत्र
सर्वे काले एवं मया आञपितं [1]

(Girnâr, lines 5-7)

has been translated by Bühler as follows:—

"Moreover, if, with respect to any thing which I order by (word of) mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing (matter) is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or "a fraud happens in the committee (of any caste or sect), I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time."[2]

In the above translation the word *nijhatî*[3] has been rendered as "fraud." I could not trace Dr. Bühler's ground for adopting this meaning. No explanation has been offered by him in his articles on the edicts published in the *Zeitshrift d. Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vols. 43 and 44 and the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 2. I do not think there is any warrant for this rendering. The source of the mistake seems to lie in M. Senart's remarks on *nikati*, an incorrect reading of *nijhatî*: 'Le sens de "bassesse, fraude," atteste pour le pâli *nikati* et sen prototype sanskrit *nikṛiti*, s'accorde très bien avec de voisinage de *vivado* "dèsunion, querelle.[4]" But the reading *nikati*, as Bühler himself pointed out, was wrong, *jha* being quite distinct in all the recensions. If *nikati* meant 'fraud,' there is no reason why *nijhatî* also should mean the same. The two are not one and the same word.

Jha in Aśokan phonetics, as in Pâli, represents either *dhya* (ध्य) or *ksha* (क्ष) of Saṃskrüta, *e. g.*, the *jha* in the *nijhapayitave*[5] and *nijhatiyâ*[6] which, as M. Senart pointed out,[7] are derived from the Sans. नि + ध्यै, and the *jha* in the *jhapetaviye* of the Pillar Edict V., which comes from the Saṃskrüta *kshai* (क्षै) (Childers). The *nijhatî* of our Rock Edict would therefore represent either **nidhyatî* (**nidhyatti*) or **nikshatti* (**nikshapti*). The context shows that it does not stand for *nidhyutti* or a similar expression connected with *ni-dhyai*, 'to be attentive,' 'to reflect.' For if in respect of the royal order, there was to be seen, in the parishat *nidhyatî*, 'attention' or 'reflection,' the king would not have been in a desparate hurry to be told of it "forthwith" and at all hours and in all places. It is evident that some unsatisfactory conduct on the part of the parishat is meant by *nijhatî*. And this sense we do get from the other restoration, *nikshapti* (or *nikshipti*), 'casting away,' 'throwing down,' or the act of 'rejection.' In respect of an order given to the Mahâmâtras if there happened or was going to happen (संतो) in the parishat a division (*vivado*) or a total rejection of the order (*nikshapti*), the king was to be informed forthwith at whatsoever place he might be and whichsoever hour it might be. The sense becomes still clearer with an appreciation of the real import of the *parisâ*.

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[1] The *e*-stroke attached to *ka* is unmistakable, the projection being clearly noticeable beyond the abrasion. See the facsimile in the *Ep. Ind.*, II, facing p. 454.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 468.

[3] In other recensions *nijhati*.

[4] *Les Inscription de Piyadasi*, i. 157. It must be at the same time noticed that M. Senart himself in translating the edict (p. 173) does not adopt "bassessee" or "fraude" but "division" as the meaning of the supposed *nikati*.

[5] Pillar Edict IV.

[6] Pillar Edict VII. 2.

[7] *Les Ins. de Piya.*, ii. 39,94.

Pârisâ : M. Senart takes it to be synonymous with *saṅgha*[8] and Bühler, as the committee of caste or sect. It is obvious that Bühler's importation of caste or sect is too far-fetched and does not suit the context at all. *Tâya athâya* qualifies the whole sentence. The dispute which might arise in the parishat would be a dispute in the matter of an order charged to the Mahâmâtras; and in respect of matters charged to the Mahâmâtras a discussion could hardly be expected to arise in a council of caste or sect. The same objection applies to M. Senart's *l'assemblee du clergé.* I do not think anybody would suggest that the Mahâmâtras figured as members of the *saṅgha.* That the parishat was the parishat of the Mahâmâtras is a conclusion which is forced upon us by the context. This conclusion receives confirmation from an independent source, which I propose to notice after commenting on the term *Mahâmâtra.*

The confusion with regard to the meaning of this expression has been removed by the recent rendering,[9] 'the High Ministers.' This rendering is confirmed by the *Arthaśâstra*, the Mahâmâtras there are the Highest Ministers.[10] I think the term Mahâmâtra, "of high (higher) authority," distinguished the Mahâmâtra class of ministers from the inferior ministers. Dr. Fleet has noticed in the inscriptions of the Gupta period two grades of offices distinguished from each other by the addition *mahâ* to particular offices. For the sake of comparsion I would draw attention to a passage of the *Śukra-nîti,* which lays down that each minister in charge of a portfolio was to have two ministers under him as juniors (ii. 109).

For the council-of-ministers we have a technical expression in the *Arthaśâstra,* the *mantri-parishat.*

मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः (p. 29)
इन्द्रस्य हि मन्त्र (Sic)- परिषदृषीणां सहस्रम् (p. 29)
मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात् (p. 29)
पञ्चमे मन्त्रिपरिषदा पत्रसंप्रेषणेन मन्त्रयेत् (p. 38)

In the edict we have वा पुन महामात्रेसु आचायिके आरोपितं भवति. In the *Arthaśâstra* we are told that an *âtyâyika* business had to be entrusted to the parishat whose decision was to be followed in the matter: आत्यायिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाहूय ब्रूयात्। तत्र यद्भूयिष्ठाः कार्यसिद्धिकरं वा ब्रूयस्तत्कुर्यात्। (*p.* 29)

"In case of an *âtyâyika* business the *mantri-parishat* of the ministers shall be called and told (the business). Therein what the majority says or whatever for the success of the matter they tell, shall be done."[11]

In the light of this evidence as well as the other considerations put forward above there seems to be a strong ground to hold that the parishat of the edict is the *mantri-parishat* of the *Arthaśâstra.* The edict, which is purely an administrative one, exhibits the emperor's dissatisfaction at the restiveness of his ministers with regard to his certain commands.[12] That the ministers had such wide powers as to be in a position to offer opposition in certain matters can be gathered also by the data of the Greek writers[13].

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[8] i, 157.

[9] Cf. Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 997.

[10] At the succession of a sovereign, who is a minor, the Mahâmâtras are told. 'He is only the symbol, you are the real sovereign' (ed. Mysore, 1909, p. 254. ध्वजमात्रोयं भवन्त एव स्वामिनः). It is they who collectively deal with the annual account sheets of the provinces sent to the capital (p. 64. प्रचारसमं महामात्रास्समग्राः श्रावयेयुः + +).

[11] Cf. also the Śukra-Nîti (II. 3).

सभ्याधिकारिप्रकृतिसमासत्सुमते स्थितः ।
सर्वदा स्यान्नृपः प्राज्ञः स्वमते न कदाचन ॥

[12] This explanation supports the tradition of the *Divyâvadâna* that Râdhâgupta opposed the gifts of the king to the Buddhist Brotherhood.

[13] Cf. 'Hence (the "Councillors of State who advise the king") enjoy the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces; deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners who superintend agriculture." Arrian, *Indika,* XII.

I propose to translate the passage as follows :—

"If, again, in the matter of anything that I myself order by word of mouth—either (an order) to be issued (to be given,[14] दापकं or to be proclaimed (श्रावापकं)—or, again, in the matter of anything urgent that is charged to the Mahâmâtras, a division or rejection is taking place (सन्तो) in the council, without any interval I must be informed at all places and at all hours. This has been ordered by me."

Mukhato: This signifies that the orders were not always given by word of mouth. In this connexion I would refer to a rule of the *nîti* as surviving in the *Sukranîti*, *viz.*, that orders by the king should not be given otherwise than in writing, and if an order was otherwise given it was not to be obeyed by the public servant, 'for it is the royal signet which is the king and not the king himself [15].'

FOLK-LORE FROM THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

BY M. N. CHITTANAH.

No. 1. The King and His devoted Minister.

THERE lived once upon a time a king and his faithful minister. They loved and trusted each other much. Their love was so great that when anything ever happened to the king the minister felt as if it had happened to him. Likewise the king also felt in the same way if anything ever happened to the minister.

On one occasion, a dealer in swords and other arms and weapons came to the king and showed him his wares. The king, while examining one of the swords unfortunately cut off his little finger because it was so sharp. He immediately informed his beloved minister of this accident and wanted him to see to come at once. But the Minister, to the utter amazement of the king, instead of running to his aid and comforting and sympathizing with his royal master, sent back his reply in these words.

"Whatever God does is done well
Though the reason why to tell."

When the messengers brought to the king this unexpected reply, his anger knew no bounds, and he at once caused his minister to be dismissed and appointed another man in his place.

Some days after, the king went out hunting. While chasing a deer, he lost himself in a thick forest, which was the den of one hundred and one notorious robbers. It happened to be the festival of their presiding and protecting deity, to whom they offered a human sacrifice annually. Every preparation was ready and the only want was the required sacrifice. So they took it as good luck that they chanced to meet the unfortunate king. Thinking him to be the gift of the goddess, who had been pleased to help them in times of difficulties and utter want and disappointment, they hastened to perform the sacrifice. While they were engaged in bringing the king to the altar, the chief robber's glance happened to fall on the king's missing finger. He at once bawled out to his comrades and showed the defect in the sacrifice to be offered.' In sorrow and anguish they let the victim go free.

On returning to the palace, he remembered the minister's wise words at the time of the loss of his little finger, which had saved him now from the hands of the murderous band of robbers and reinstated his wise and learned minister to his former place, passing the remainder of their days in blessed harmony of peace and pleasnre.

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14 *dâpakam* might mean a *fiscal* order. Cf. सर्वान् वा दापयेत् करान्. Arthaśâstra, p. 57.

15 न कार्यं भृतकः कुर्यान्नृपलेखाद्विना क्वचित्।
नाज्ञापयेल्लेखनेन विनाल्पं वा महन्नृपः॥ II. 290
नृपसांचिह्नितं लेख्यं नृपस्तत्र नृपो नृपः॥ II. 292. (Jîvânanda's ed.)

1 Among the lower classes of people very great care is takenwhen a goat, a sheep or fowl is being chosen for sacrifice to goddesses to see that the animal is free from defective limbs. Even now when an animal sacrifice is offered to the lower goddesses, or presiding deities over cholera, small-pox and other epidemics, votaries and worshippers are very careful to obtain a sound animal or fowl.

MISCELLANEA.

THE JOG OR GERSAPPE FALLS.

The Jôg Falls on the Sharâvati river,[1] which for about eight miles forms the boundary between Mysore and the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency, are best known to Europeans as the **Gêrsappe Falls,** though they are eight miles further up the river than that old village, and about thirty miles from Honâvar on the coast.

In the south of India there are not a few waterfalls of considerable height and volume. The falls of the Ghaṭprabhâ, near Gôkâk in the Belgaum District, for example, are 170 feet high, horse-shoe shaped, and with a flood-breadth at the crest of 580 feet, discharging in November after the rains an average of nineteen tons of water per second.

But the Jôg on the Sharâvati is by far the grandest, pouring a large volume of water over a vertical cliff with a sheer drop of 830 feet in height, and extending, even in the dry season, to about 720 yards across, whilst in the monsoon the flood is about doubled, rolling over the precipice at a depth of eight feet into a pool some 130 feet deep. In August 1844 Captain Newbold estimated the fall of water at 43,000 cubic feet per second. In November and later the sight of this mighty cataract is still magnificent; while during the rains the huge chasm is filled with the clouds of spray and mist which hang over the cliff. It is divided by rocks into four separate channels. The Râja or Grand Fall is that nearest the right or Kanara bank of the river, and by itself is a fine fall sweeping down in a smooth unbroken volume till lost in clouds of spray. A good way to the left is the second fall, named the Roarer from the noise it makes: it is within the curve on the north-end of the cliff, and falls into a basin whence it rushes down a deep channel and leaps out to join the Râja fall and the joint streams dash down a rugged gorge upon a great rock. The Rocket is outside the north curve and is of great beauty, and falling upon a projecting rock and darting out thence forms a rocket-like curve of 700 feet, throwing off sparkling jets of spray. To the left of this is the fourth cascade styled LaDame Blanche, which glides gracefully over the precipice in a sheet of foam and spreads out over the face of the rock down to the pool like folds of silver gauze.[2]

When visiting these falls in March 1880, I found the following lines in the visitors' book at the Kodkani Travellers' Bungalow, close to the falls, which I got copied out: they may be of interest to some readers: the author of them, Mr. Gordon Forbes, was a Madras Civilian, and seems to have been at one time Head Assistant in South Kanara.

J. Burgess.

Gersappe Falls.

Unnamed yet ancient river! Since the flood
Your tribute—gathered from a thousand rills—
Increasing journeys to the Western main,
Anon, as now in summer heats, waxed low,
Winning slow way amongst the wave-worn rocks;
Anon, ere many moons, above their crests
Rolling triumphant, an all-conquering flood.
Thy varied scenes are like a changeful life:
Turmoil and rest: now harassed and now still.
Thou hast deep reaches where thy waters rest
Calm as a healthful sleep; there drink at noon
The wild herds of the woods; there with deep shade
Primeval forests curtain thy repose.
Then on with gentle flow and rippling sound—
Dimpled as mirth and musical as joy!
On, lured to swiftness, or provoked to strife
By rough obstruction or inviting slope,—
On, still unconscious to the awful brink,
Where the wild plunge hath made thee glorious.
Mortal! where wast thou when the hand of God
Quarried the chasms in the living rock,
And rent the cliff to give the torrent way?
How pigmy on the brink thy stature shows,
Topping a rampart of a thousand feet!
Bend o'er the cliff when the uplifting clouds
Reveal the terrors of the deep abyss,
Where the blue pigeon circles at mid height,
And in the spray the darting swallow bathes;
Then, with firm foot and brain undizzied, hurl
A fragment from the precipice, and mark—
With fearful sympathy—its long, long fall!
It dwindles to a speck, yet still descends,
Descends and vanishes ere yet the eye

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1 Kanarese *jôgu*, 'a waterfall.'

2 Newbold in *Jour. As. Beng.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 416 421; *Bombay Gazetteer, Kanara*, Vol. XV, pt. ii, pp. 284-288; Rice, *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp. 387-391; Murray's *Handbook of India* etc., 5th Ed., pp. 384-5; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII., p. 210.

Discerns the signal of its distant splash.
Grudge not the toil to track yon rugged stair,[3]
Down where huge fragments strew the torrent bed.
Look up and scan the tow'ring precipice.
Sat ever beauty on such awful front?
Was e'er dread grief so girt with loveliness?
How goodly are thy robes, thou foam-clad queen.[4]
What hues of heaven are woven in thy skirt;
Thy misty veil, how gracefully it falls—
Forever falls and yet unveils thee not!
Down the black rock in many a show'ry jet,
Like arrowy meteors on the midnight sky,
Prone shoot the parted waters. And lo where
With angry roar athwart the precipice
In mighty furrows rushes to the plunge[5]
A headlong torrent. But majestic most[6]
Thy stately fall, unbroken to the base,
Fair column of white water meekly shrined[7]
In the dim grandeur of thy gloomy chasm,
Imperishable waters! To the place
From whence ye came incessant ye return,
Dissolve, condense and constant reappear;
A river now, and now a restless wave,
Aloft a heaven-obscuring canopy,
A thunder cloud alighting in soft rain,
Or spilt in torrents on the streaming earth,
Again to gather, and perchance again
Shoot from yon heights a sounding cataract.

GORDON FORBES.

THE AGE OF SRIHARSHA.

IN connection with Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's note appended to my note on "The age of Śriharsha" *ante*, p. 83, I have to offer the following observations:—

(*a*) Râjaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa* was composed more than a century and a half after the reign of the Gâhaḍavâla king Jayachchandra (A.D. 1170-1193) in A. D. 1348 (Śivadattaśarman's introduction to *Naishadhîyacharitam*, p. 3). The story of the composition and publication of the *Naishadhîya* as told by Râjaśekhara has very little historical basis. Of course the names of some historical personages find place in the story. But even here the author is not correct. He names the patron of Sriharsha as Jayantachandra and not Jayachchandra and makes him the *son* and not the *grandson* of Govindachandra, king of Vârâṇasî; so Râjaśekhara cannot be accepted as a very reliable authority on Gâhaḍavâla history, and it is not safe to accept his testimony concerning the contemporaneity of Jayachchandra and Śrîharsha as decisive without corroborative contemporary evidence. Râjaśekhara may as well have connected a poet of an earlier age with Jayachchandra as Merutuṅga has connected Bâṇa, Mâgha, and the dramatist Râjaśekhara with Bhoja Paramâra in his *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*.

(*b*) As for *Arṇava-varṇana* we know of no other *charitâ* which is called *varṇana*, and so it is difficult to accept *Arṇava-varṇana* as a *charita* of the Châhamâna king Arṇorâja.

(*c*) The Chhinda chief (of Gayâ) mentioned in the Gayâ inscription of Purushottamadeva, who was a tributary of Aśokavalla, and dated in the year 1813 after Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*, was not a contemporary of Jayachchandra, but flourished a century after Jayachchandra's accession. The date of this inscription is usually taken as corresponding to Wednesday, 28th October, A.D. 1176, with 638 B. C. as the initial year of the era of Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*. As this is the only instance of the use of this era in India, it cannot be considered as of Indian origin, but must have been imported from outside. It has been proved that the era of Buddha's *Nirvâṇa* starting from 544 B. C. took its rise in Ceylon in the middle of the eleventh century and was thence carried to Burma (Fleet's Contributions to *J. R. A. S.* of 1909, 1911 and 1912; Geiger's Introduction to the *Mahâvaṁsa*, London, 1912, p. 29). From a Burmese inscription at Bodh-Gayâ we learn that Burmese monks repaired a *chaitya* at Bodh-Gayâ three times, and that the last repair works were

[3] The descent on the south side of the fall down to the pool at the bottom.
[4] The section of the fall called LaDame Blanche,—the fall on the south or Mysore side of the river.
[5] The fall known as 'The Rocket,'—to the north or right of La Dame Blanche.
[6] 'The Roarer,' falls into a basin and thence leaps towards the Râja fall and joins it.
[7] 'The Râjâ,'—also called the Horse-shoe fall, the Main fall and the Great fall,—is the large fall on the north or Kanara side of the Sharâvati river.

begun in January 1295 A. D., and completed in November 1298 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.* vol XI., pp. 119-120). The era of Buddha's *Nirvâṇa* was, therefore, probably imported from Burma into India in the thirteenth century, and according to the Ceylonese, Burmese and Siamese reckoning the year 1813 after Buddha's *Nirvâṅa* corresponds to A.D. 1270. We arrive at similar conclusions regarding the age of **Aśokavalla**, and, therefore, of the **Chhinda** chief of Gayâ, from two other Gayâ inscriptions. The first of these two inscriptions is dated in the year 51 of "*Śrîmal-Lakshmaṇasenasya=âtîta râjya*," "the year 51 after the end of **Lakshmaṇasena's** reign." (Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 576), and the second in the year 74 of the same era (*Ibid*, No. 5·77). Assuming that **Lakshmaṇasena** ascended the throne in A. D. 1119, the initial epoch of the Laksmaṇa Saṁvat, Kielhorn gave A. D. 1171 and 1194 as the equivalents of these dates. But in some copies of **Dânasâgara** by Ballâlasena, father of **Lakshmaṇasena**, Saka 1091=A.D. 1169 is given as the date of the composition of the work (*J. A. S. B*, 1896, Part I, p. 23; Eggeling's *Catalogue of India Office Mss.*, p. 545), and in one copy of *Adbhutasâgara* by Ballâlasena it is said that the work was begun in Śaka 1090 = A. D. 1168 (Bhandârkar's *Report*, 1887-88 to 1890-91, p. lxxxv). Giving the date of composition in Śaka era was the usual practice with the Bengali authors of those days. Śrîdhara, the author of *Nyâyakandali*, a native of southern Râḍhâ in Bengal, gives Śaka 913 = A. D. 991 as the date of composition (Bühler's *Kashmîr Report*, p. cxliv; *Vizianagram Sanskrit Series*, No. 6, p. 331). Śrîdharadâsa, whose father was a friend of **Lakshmaṇasena**, compiled his *Sadukti-karṇâmṛita* in Śaka 1127=A. D. 1205. Kielhorn, in his synchronistic table for Northern India appended to *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, accepts the date of the composition of *Dânasâgara* as a landmark in the Sena chronology and places the reign of Lakshmaṇasena in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century. But in the list of dated inscriptions of Northern India prefixed to the table he does not make corresponding changes in the dates of the Gayâ inscriptions of Aśokavalla. Taking A. D. 1200 as the approximate date of the end of the reign of **Lakshmaṇasena**, the record of 51 should be assigned to A. D. 1251, and that of 74 to A. D. 1274. Thus the dates of **Aśokavalla's** inscriptions dated in *Lakshmaṇasen-âtîta-râjya* may be reconciled to his third inscription dated in the year 1813 after Buddha's *Nirvâṇa* in which a **Chhinda** chief of Gayâ is referred to.

(*d*) Mr. Bhandarkar admits, "It is difficult to determine who was the hero of his *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*." This difficulty disappears if we reject the tales told by Râjaśekhara and identify the hero of **Srîharsha's** *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* with **Sindhurâja Navasâhasâṅka** of the **Paramâra** dynasty, the patron of Padmagupta-Parimala and the hero of his *Navasâhasâṅkacharita.*

RAMA PRASAD CHANDA.

BOOK-NOTICE.

PAṆḌIT BAHECAR DÂS JÎVRÂJ, *Prâkṛtamârgopadeśikâ* (in Gujarâtî).—Printed at the Dharmâbhyudaya Press, Benares, 1911.—Pages 148, 28.—Price 12 annas.

To be fully appreciated, the above book should be considered in connection with the object at which it aims, namely, smoothing the way of learning Prakrit to Indian students, by putting Hemacandra's aphoristic rules into an easy and readable form. As regards this end, the author—a scholar in the Śri Yaśovijay Banâras Sanskrit Pâthśâlâ — has no doubt reached it, and has fairly succeeded in giving a co-ordinated and lucid exposition of the whole Prakrit morphology and of the most important phonetical rules and *âdeśas* in the *Haimavyâkaraṇa*. It is an original reconstruction of the latter work, not a mere translation, and its most pleasant feature is the division of the matter into lessons—33 in all, which can be successively studied, one after another, in the easiest way. Each lesson generally contains, besides paradigms and grammatical rules, lists of words to be learnt by heart, and

very useful exercises, consisting of short Prakrit sentences to be translated into Gujarati, and Gujarati sentences to be translated into Prakrit. The practical value of the book is further increased by a complete index at the end of all the Prakrit words occurring in it, each word being explained in Gujarati. We have therefore in this work the substance of an ancient Indian *vyâkaraṇa*,—the most authoritative one in the present case,—recast into a modern form, in accordance with much the same practical principles as any European grammar of to-day; and I do not hesitate to recommend it strongly to all Indian students, who wish to learn Prakrit from the rules set down by Hemacandra.

Another important feature of the book, which will not be approved by all, however, is the total banishment of Sanskrit from it. Here Paṇḍit Bahecar Dâs Jîvrâj seems to have gone either on the assumption that there might be students of Prakrit, who are not acquainted with Sanskrit, or, what is practically the same thing, that the latter language is not necessary for the explanation of the former. I need hardly show that this is not the real situation. It is clear that reference to the Sanskrit is absolutely indispensable not only in describing Prakrit phonetics, but also Prakrit morphology. There are many irregular Prakrit forms, like *soccâ* (<Skt. *śrutvâ*), *pappa* (<Skt. *prâpya*), *bhaṇṇai* (<Skt. *bhaṇyate*), *moccham* (<Skt. *mokṣyâmi*), etc., which could never be understood by a student, who is unacquainted with Sanskrit. It is probably on the same assumption that Paṇḍit Bahecar Dâs Jîvrâj has given to phonetics but little importance in his Grammar, and has contented himself with a short description of the principal phonetical changes, added at the end of the book as a kind of supplement. Now, this is just the reverse of the rational proceeding already followed by Hemacandra, and in this case one must confess that the innovation is not an improvement. I would therefore advise the author to take Sanskrit more into consideration in a second edition of his book and to add in brackets all Sanskrit forms, which might be of help in understanding any Prakrit word. Similarly, I would suggest that, in giving the Gujarati equivalents of Prakrit words, that he employ *tatsamas* of the same origin as the latter, whenever it is possible; *e. g.*, *putra* instead of *dîkaro* as an equivalent of *putta*, *nagara* instead of *śaher* as an equivalent of *nayara*, etc. This would, in many cases, greatly facilitate for students, the work of learning Prakrit words by heart.

The language, which Paṇḍit Bahecar Dâs Jîvrâj teaches in his *Prâkṛtamârgopadeçikâ*, is naturally the same as that described by Hemacandra in the three first, and also in half the fourth, *pâda* of the eighth *adhyâya* of his *vyâkaraṇa*, namely the Mâhârâṣṭrî, mixed with some of the peculiarities of the Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî and of the Ardhamâgadhî. Amongst the characteristics of the two latter dialects, we may reckon the *yaśruti* and the dentalisation of initial *ṇ* and medial *ṇṇ*, which Hemacandra and most Jain writers often transfer not only to the Mâhârâṣṭrî, but even to other Prakrit dialects and to the Apabhramça. The greater part of the book is devoted to a description of the morphology, and it contains the whole substance of the third *pâda* in the *Haimavyâkaraṇa*, each *sûtra* being expanded into one or more very clear rules, and the succession of the various subjects wholly rearranged in the most convenient way. *Âdeśas*, indeclinables etc., are occasionally interspersed.

Within the above limits the book is quite complete and, if there are any deficiencies in it, these generally are not to be imputed to Paṇḍit Bahecar Dâs Jîvrâj, but to Hemacandra himself. Only I would venture to remark that, since the *Prâkṛtamârgopadeçikâ* is practically intended for training students to understand the Prakrit of Jain canonical and extra-canonical works, *i. e.*, the Ardhamâgadhî and the Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî, its author would have done well to complete Hemacandra's description of the language by the addition of such forms as are peculiar to the Prakrit used by the Jains, and are not to be found in the Mâhârâṣṭrî, like the *-e* ending of the nom. sing., and also the *-âo* ending of the nom. plur., the *-âe* termination of the dative, the *-ṃsi*, *-ṃmi* terminations of the locative, the accusative form *râyâṇam* from the base *râjan*, and the *-iṃsu* plural termination of the aorist, etc.

L. P. T.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE VALUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY.[1]

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART., C.I.E.

THE title of the body of which those present at this meeting from a section is, as all my hearers will know, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and it seems to me therefore that the primary duty of a sectional President is to do what in him lies, for the time being, to forward the work of his section. This may be done in more than one way: by a survey of the work done up to date and an appreciation of its existing position and future prospects, by an address directly forwarding it in some particular point or aspect, by considering its applicability to what is called the practical side of human life. The choice of method seems to me to depend on the circumstances of each meeting, and I am about to choose the last of those above mentioned, and to confine my address to a consideration of the administrative value of anthropology because the locality in which we are met together and the spirit of the present moment seem to indicate that I shall best serve the interests of the anthropological section of the British Association by a dissertation on the importance of this particular science to those who are or may hereafter be called upon to administer the public affairs of the lands in which they may reside.

I have to approach the practical aspect of the general subject of anthropology under the difficulty of finding myself once more riding an old hobby, and being consequently confronted with views and remarks already expressed in much detail. But I am not greatly disturbed by this fact, as experience teaches that the most effective way of impressing ideas, in which one believes, on one's fellow man is to miss no opportunity of putting them forward, even at the risk of repeating what may not yet have been forgotten. And as I am convinced that the teachings of anthropologists are of practical value to those engaged in guiding the administration of their own or another country, I am prepared to take that risk.

Anthropology is, of course, in its baldest sense the study of mankind in all its possible ramifications, a subject far too wide for any one science to cover, and therefore the real point for consideration on such an occasion as this is not so much what the students of mankind and its environments might study if they chose, but what the scope of their studies now actually is, and whither it is tending. I propose, therefore, to discuss the subject in this limited sense.

What then is the anthropology of to-day, that claims to be of practical value to the administrator? In what directions has it developed?

Perhaps the best answer to these questions is to be procured from our own volume of 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' a volume published under the arrangements of the Royal Anthropological Institute for the British Association. This volume of 'Notes and Queries' has been before the public for about forty years, and is now in the fourth edition, which shows a great advance on its predecessors and conforms to the stage of development to which the science has reached up to the present time.

The object of the 'Notes and Queries' is stated to be 'to promote accurate anthropological observation on the part of travellers (including all local observers) and to enable those who are not anthropologists themselves to supply information which is wanted for the scientific study of anthropology at home.' So, in the heads under which the subject is considered in this book, we have exhibited to us the entire scope of the science as it now exists. These heads are (1) Physical Anthropology, (2) Technology, (3) Sociology, (4) Arts and Sciences.

[1] Presidential Address delivered to the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Birmingham, 1913.

It is usual, however, nowadays to divide the subject into two main divisions—physical and cultural anthropology.

Physical Anthropology aims at obtaining ' as exact a record as possible of the structure and functions of the human body, with a view to determining how far these are dependent on inherited and racial factors, and how far they vary with environment.' This record is based on two separate classes of physical observation : firstly on descriptive characters, such as types of hair, colour of the eyes and skin, and so on, and actual mesaurement ; and secondly on attitudes, movements, and customary actions. By the combined study of observations on these points physical heredity is ascertained, and a fair attribution of the race or races to which individuals or groups belong can be arrived at.

But anthropology, as now studied, goes very much further than inquiry into the physical structure of the human races. Man, ' unlike other animals, habitually reinforces and enhances his natural qualities and force by artificial means.' He does, or gets done for him, all sorts of things to his body to improve its capacities or appearance, or to protect it. He thus supplies himself with sanitary appliances and surroundings, with bodily ornamentation and ornaments, with protective clothing, with habitations and furniture, with protection against climate and enemies, with works for the supply of water and fire, with food and drink, drugs and medicine. And for these purposes he hunts, fishes, domesticates animals, and tills the soil, and provides himself with implements for all these, and also for defence and offence, and for the transport of goods, involving working in wood, earth, stones, bones, shells, metals and other hard materials, and in leather, strings, nets, basketry, matting and weaving, leading him to what are known as textile industries. Some of this work has brought him to mine and quarry, and to employ mechanical aids in the shape of machinery, however rude and simple. The transport of himself and his belongings by land and water has led him to a separate set of industries and habits : to the use of paths, roads, bridges, and halting places, of trailers, sledges, and wheeled vehicles ; to the use of rafts, floats, canoes, coracles, boats, and ships,and the means of propelling them, poles, paddles, oars, sails, and rigging. The whole of these subjects is grouped by anthropologists under the term Technology, which thus becomes a very wide subject, covering all the means by which a people supplies itself with the necessaries of its mode of livelihood.

In order to successfully carry on what may be termed the necessary industries or even to be in a position to cope with them, bodies of men have to act in concert, and this forces mankind to be gregarious, a condition of life that involves the creation of social relations. To understand, therefore, any group of mankind, it is essential to study Sociology side by side with Technology. The subjects for inquiry here are the observances at crucial points in the life history of the individual—birth, puberty, marriage, death, daily life, nomenclature, and so on ; the social organisation and the relationship of individuals. On these follow the economics of the social group, pastoral, agricultural, industrial, and commercial, together with conceptions as to property and inheritance (including slavery), as to government, law and order, politics and morals ; and finally the ideas as to war and the external relations between communities.

We are still, however, very far from being able to understand in all their fullness of development even the crudest of human communities, without a further inquiry into the products of their purely mental activities, which in the ' Notes and Queries ' are grouped under the term ' Arts and Sciences.' Under this head are to be examined, in the first place the expression of the emotions to the eye by physical movements and conditions, and then by gestures, signs and signals, before we come to language,which is primarily expressed by the

voice to the ear, and secondarily to the eye in a more elaborate form by the graphic arts—pictures, marks and writing. Man further tries to express his emotions by what are known as the Fine Arts; that is by modifying the material articles which he contrives for his livelihood in a manner that makes them represent to him something beyond their economic use—makes them pleasant, representative or symbolical—leading him on to draw, paint, enamel, engrave, carve and mould. In purely mental efforts this striving to satisfy the artistic or æsthetic sense takes the form of stories, proverbs, riddles, songs, and music Dancing, drama, games, tricks and amusements are other manifestations of the same effort, combining in these cases the movements of the body with those of the mind in expressing the emotions.

The mental process necessary for the expression of his emotions have induced man to extend his powers of mind in directions now included in the term 'Abstract Reasoning.' This has led him to express the results of his reasoning by such terms as reckoning and measurement, and to fix standards for comparison in such immaterial but all essential matters as enumeration, distance, surface, capacity, weight, time, value and exchange. These last enable him to reach the idea of money, which is the measurement of value by means of tokens, and represents perhaps the highest economic development of the reasoning powers common to nearly all mankind.

The mental capacities of man have so far been considered only in relation to the expression of the emotions and of the results of abstract reasoning; but they have served him also to develop other results and expressions equally important, which have arisen out of observation of his surroundings, and have given birth to the Natural Sciences: astronomy, meteorology, geography, topography and natural history. And further they have enabled him to memorise all these things by means of records, which in their highest form have brought about what is known to all of us as history, the bugbear of impulsive and shallow thinkers, but the veryback-bone of all solid opinion.

The last and most complex development of the mental processes, dependent upon all the others according to the degree to which they themselves have been developed in any given variety of mankind, is, and has always been, present in every race or group on record from the remotest to the most recent time in some form or other and in a high degree. Groups of men observe the phenomena exhibited by themselves or their environment, and account for them according to their mental capacity as modified by their heredity. Man's bare abstract reasoning, following on his observation of such phenomena, is his philosophy, but his inherited emotions influence his reasoning to an almost controlling extent and induce his religion, which is thus his philosophy or explanation of natural phenomena as effected by his hereditary emotions, producing that most wonderful of all human phenomena, his belief. In the conditions, belief, faith, and religion must and do vary with race, period and environment.

Consequent on the belief, present or past of any given variety of mankind, there follow religious practices (customs as they are usually called) based thereon, and described commonly in terms that are familiar to all, but are nevertheless by no means even yet clearly defined: theology, heathenism, fetishism, animism, totemism, magic, superstition, with soul, ghost, and spirit, and so on, as regards mental concepts; worship, ritual, prayer, sanctity, sacrifice, taboo, etc., as regards custom and practice.

Thus have the anthropologists, as I understand them, shown that they desire to answer the question as to what their science is, and to explain the main points in the subject of which they strive to obtain and impart accurate knowledge based on scientific inquiry: that is, on an

inquiry methodically conducted on lines which experience has shown them will lead to the minimum of error in observation and record.

I trust I have been clear in my explanation of the anthropologists' case, though in the time at my disposal I have been unable to do more than indicate the subjects they study, and have been obliged to exercise restraint and to employ condensation of statement to the utmost extent that even a long experience in exposition enables one to achieve. Briefly, the science of anthropology aims at such a presentation and explanation of the physical and mental facts about any given species or even group of mankind as may correctly instruct those to whom the acquisition of such knowledge may be of use. In this instance, as in the case of the other sciences, the man of science endeavours to acquire and pass on abstract knowledge, which the man of affairs can confidently apply in the daily business of practical life.

It will have been observed that an accurate presentation of the physical and mental characteristics of any species of mankind which it is desired to study is wholly dependent on accurate inquiry and report. Let no one suppose that such inquiry is a matter of instinct or intuition, or that it can be usefully conducted empirically or without due reference to the experiences of others; in other words without sufficient preliminary study. So likely indeed are the uneducated in such matters to observe and record facts about human beings inaccurately, or even wrongly, that about a fourth part of the 'Notes and Queries' is taken up with showing the inquirer how to proceed, and in exposing the pitfalls into which he may unconsciously fall. The mainspring of error in anthropological observation is that the inquirer is himself the product of heredity and environment. This induces him to read himself, his own unconscious prejudices and inherited outlook on life, into the statements made to him by those who view life from perhaps a totally different and incompatible standpoint. To the extent that the inquirer does this, to that extent are his observations and report likely to be inaccurate and misleading. To avoid error in this respect, previous training and study are essential, and so the 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' a guide compiled in co-operation by persons long familiar with the subject, is as strong and explicit on the point of how to inquire as on that of what to inquire about.

Let me explain that these statements are not intended to be taken as made *ex cathedrâ*, but rather as the outcome of actual experience of mistakes made in the past. Time does not permit me to go far into this point, and I must limit myself to the subject of Sociology for my illustration. If a man undertakes to inquire into the social life of a people or tribe as a subject apart, he is committing an error, and his report will almost certainly be misleading. Such an investigator will find that religion and technology are inextricably mixed up with the sociology of any given tribe, that religion intervenes at every point not only of sociology but also of language and technology. In fact, just as in the case of all other scientific research, the phenomena observable by the anthropologist are not the result of development along any single line alone, but of a progression in a main general direction, as influenced, and it may be even deflected, by contact and environment.

If again the inquirer neglects the simple but essential practice of taking notes, not only fully, but also immediately or as nearly so as practicable, he will find that his memory of facts, even after a short time, has become vague, inexact, and incomplete, which means that reports made from memory are more likely to be useless than to be of any scientific value. If voluntary information or indirect and accidental corroboration are ignored, if questions are asked and answers accepted without discretion, if exceptions are mistaken for rules, then the records of an inquiry may well mislead and thus become worse than useless. If leading or direct

questions are put without due caution, and if the answers are recorded without reference to the natives' and not the enquirer's mode of classifying things, crucial errors may easily arise. Thus, in many parts of the world, the term 'mother' includes all female relatives of the past or passing generation, and the term 'brother' the entire brotherhood. Such expressions as 'brother' and 'sister' may and do constantly connote relationships which are not recognised at all amongst us. The word 'marriage' may include 'irrevocable betrothal,' and so on; and it is very easy to fall into the trap of the mistranslation of terms of essential import, especially in the use of words expressing religious conceptions. The conception of godhead has for so long been our inheritance that it may be classed almost as instinctive. It is nevertheless still foreign to the instincts of a large portion of mankind.

If also, when working among the uncultured, the inquirer attempts to ascertain abstract ideas, except through concrete instances, he will not succeed in his purpose for want of representative terms. And lastly, if he fails to project himself sufficiently into the minds of the subjects of inquiry, or to respect their prejudices, or to regard seriously what they hold to be sacred, or to keep his countenance while practices are being described which to him may be disgusting or ridiculous—if indeed he fails in any way in communicating to his informants, who are often super-sensitively suspicious in such matters, the fact that his sympathy is not feigned— he will also fail in obtaining the anthropological knowledge he is seeking. In the words of the 'Notes and Queries' on this point, 'Nothing is easier than to do anthropological work of a certain sort, but to get to the bottom of native customs and modes of thought, and to record the results of inquiry in such a manner that they carry conviction, is work which can be only carried out properly by careful attention.'

The foregoing considerations explain the scope of our studies and the requirements of the preliminary inquiries necessary to give those studies value. The further question is the use to which the results can be put. The point that at once arises here for the immediate purpose is that of the conditions under which the British Empire is administered. We are here met together to talk scientifically, that is, as precisely as we can: and so it is necessary to give a definition to the expression 'Imperial Administration,' especially as it is constantly used for the government of an empire, whereas in reality it is the government that directs the administration. In this address I use the term 'administration' as the disinterested management of the details of public affairs. This excludes 'politics' from our purview, defining that term as the conduct of the government of a country according to the opinions or in the interests of a particular group or party.

Now in this matter of administration the position of the inhabitants of the British Isles is unique. It falls to their lot to govern, directly or indirectly, the lives of members of nearly every variety of the human race. Themselves Europeans by descent and intimate connection, they have a large direct interest in every other general geographical division of the world and its inhabitants. It is worth while to pause here for a moment to think, and to try and realise, however dimly, something of the task before the people of this country in the government and control of what are known as the subject races.

For this purpose it is necessary to throw our glance over the physical extent of the British Empire. In the first place, there are the ten self-governing components of the Dominion of Canada and that of Newfoundland in North America, the six Colonial States in the Commonwealth of Australia, with the Dominion of New Zealand in Australasia, and the four divisions of the Union of South Africa. All these may be looked upon as indirectly administered portions of the British Empire. Then there is the mediatised government of Egypt,

with its appanage, the directly British administered Sudan, which alone covers about a million square miles of territory in thirteen provinces, in Northern Africa. These two areas occupy, as it were, a position between the self-governing and the directly-governed areas. Of these, there are in Europe, Malta and Gibraltar, Cyprus being officially included in Asia. In Asia itself is the mighty Indian Empire, which includes Aden and the Arabian Coast on the West and Burma on the East, and many islands in the intervening seas, with its fifteen provinces and some twenty categories of Native States 'in subordinate alliance,' that is, under general Imperial control. To these are added Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and the Malay States, federated or other, North Borneo and Sarawak, and in the China Seas Hongkong and Wei-hai-wei. In South Africa we find Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Rhodesia; in British West Africa, Gambia, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria; in Eastern and Central Africa, Somaliland, the East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Nyassaland; while attached to Africa are the Mauritius, Seychelles, Ascension and St. Helena. In Central and South America are Honduras and British Guiana, and attached to that continent the Falkland Islands, and also Bermuda and the six colonies of British West Indies. In the Pacific Ocean are Fiji, Papua and many of the Pacific Islands.

I am afraid that once more during the course of this exposition I have been obliged to resort to a concentration of statement that is almost bewildering. But let that be. If one is to grapple successfully with a large and complex subject, it is necessary to try and keep before the mind, so far as possible, not only its magnitude, but the extent of its complexity. This is the reason for bringing before you, however briefly and generally, the main geographical details of the British Empire. The first point to realise on such a survey is that the mere extent of such an Empire makes the subject of its administration an immensely important one for the British people.

The next point for consideration and realisation is that an empire, situated in so many widely separated parts of the world, must contain within its boundaries groups of every variety of mankind, in such numerical strength as to render it necessary to control them as individual entities. They do not consist of small bodies lost in a general population, and therefore negligible from the administrator's point of view, but of whole races and tribes or of large detachments thereof.

These tribes of mankind profess every variety of religion known. They are Christians, Jews, Mahomedans, Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Animists and to use a very modern expression, Animatists, adherents of main religions followed by an immense variety of sects, governed, however loosely, by every species of philosophy that is or has been in fashion among groups of mankind, and current in every stage of development, from the simplest and most primitive to the most historical and complex. One has to bear in mind that we have within our borders the Andamanese, the Papuan, and the Polynesian, as well as the highly civilised Hindu and Chinese, and that not one of these, nor indeed of many other peoples, has any tradition of philosophy or religion in common with our own; their very instincts of faith and belief following other lines than ours, the prejudices with which their minds are saturated being altogether alien to those with which we ourselves are deeply imbued.

The subjects of the British King-Emperor speak between them most of the languages of the world, and certainly every structural variety of human speech has its example somewhere in the British Empire. A number of these languages is still only in the process of becoming understood by our officials and other residents among their speakers, and let there be no mistake as to the magnitude of the question involved in the point of language alone in British

Imperial regions. A man may be what is called a linguist. He may have a working knowledge of the main European languages and of the great Oriental tongues, Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani, which will carry him very far indeed among the people—in a sense, in fact, from London to Calcutta—and then, without leaving that compact portion of the British Possessions known as the Indian Empire, with all its immense variety of often incompatible subordinate languages and dialects, he has only to step across the border into Burma and the further East to find himself in a totally different atmosphere of speech, where not one of the sounds, not one of the forms, not one of the methods, with which he has become familiarised is of any service to him whatever. The same observation will again be forced on him if he transfers himself thence to Southern Africa or to the Pacific Ocean. Let him wander amongst the North American Indians, and he will find the linguistic climate once more altogether changed.

Greater Britain may be said to exhibit all the many varieties of internal social relations that have been set up by tribes and groups of mankind—all the different forms of family and general social organisation, of reckoning kinship, of inheritance and control of the possession of property, of dealing with the birth of children and their education and training, physical, mental, moral, and professional, in many cases by methods entirely foreign to British ideas and habits. For instance, infanticide as a custom has many different sources of origin.

Our fellow subjects of the King follow, somewhere or other, all the different notions and habits that have been formed by mankind as to the relations between the sexes, both permanent and temporary, as to marriage and to what have been aptly termed supplementary unions. And finally, their methods of dealing with death and bringing it about, of disposing of the dead and worshipping them, give expression to ideas, which it requires study for an inhabitant of Great Britain to appreciate or understand. I may quote here as an example, that of all the forms of human head-hunting and other ceremonial murder that have come within my cognisance, either as an administrator or investigator, not one has originated in callousness or cruelty of character. Indeed, from the point of view of the perpetrators, they are invariably resorted to for the temporal or spiritual benefit of themselves or their tribe. In making this remark, I must not be understood as proposing that they should not be put down, wherever that is practicable. I am merely trying now to give an athropological explanation of human phenomena.

In very many parts of the British Empire, the routine of daily life and the notions that govern it often find no counterparts of any kind in those of the British Isles, in such matters as personal habits and etiquette on occasions of social intercourse. And yet, perhaps, nothing estranges the administrator from his people more than mistakes on these points. It is small matters—such as the mode of salutation, forms of address and politeness, as rules of precedence, hospitality, and decency, as recognition of superstitions, however apparently unreasonable—which largely govern social relations, which no stranger can afford to ignore, and which at the same time cannot be ascertained and observed correctly without due study.

The considerations so far urged to-day have carried us through the points of the nature and scope of the science of anthropology, the mental equipment necessary for the useful pursuit of it, the methods by which it can be successfully studied, the extent and nature of the British Empire, the kind of knowledge of the alien populations within its boundaries required by persons of British origin who would administer the empire with benefit to the people dwelling in it, and the importance to such persons of acquiring that knowledge.

I now turn to the present situation as to this last point and its possible improvement, though in doing so I have to cover ground that some of those present may think I have already

trodden bare. The main proposition here is simple enough. The Empire is governed from the British Isles, and therefore year by year a large number of young men is sent out to its various component parts, and to them must inevitably be entrusted in due course the administrative, commercial, and social control over many alien races. If their relations with the foreign peoples with whom they come in contact are to be successful, they must acquire a working knowledge of the habits, customs, and ideas that govern the conduct of those peoples, and of the conditions in which they pass their lives. All those who succeed find these things out for themselves, and discern that success in administration and commerce is intimately affected by success in social relations, and that that in its turn is dependent on the knowledge they may attain of those with whom they have to deal. They set about learning what they can, but of necessity empirically, trusting to keenness of observation, because such self-tuition is, as it were, a side issue in the immediate and imperative business of their lives. But, as I have already said elsewhere, the man who is obliged to obtain the requisite knowledge empirically, and without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him who has already acquired the habit of right observation, and, what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of correctly interpreting his observations in his youth.

To put the proposition in its briefest form : in order to succeed in administration a man must use tact. Tact is the social expression of discernment and insight, qualities born of intuitive anthropological knowledge, and that is what it is necessary to induce in those sent abroad to become eventually the controllers of other kinds of men. What is required, therefore, is that in youth they should have imbibed the anthropological habit, so that as a result of having been taught how to study mankind, they may learn what it is necessary to know of those about them correctly, and in the shortest practicable time. The years of active life now unavoidably wasted in securing this knowledge, often inadequately and incorrectly even in the case of the ablest, can thus be saved, to the incalculable benefit of both the governors and the governed.

The situation has, for some years past, been appreciated by those who have occupied themselves with the science we are assembled here to promote, and several efforts have been made by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, at any rate, to bring the public benefits accruing from the establishment of anthropological schools before the Government and the people of this country.

In 1902 the Royal Anthropological Institute sent a deputation to the Government with a view to the establishment of an official Anthropometric Survey of the United Kingdom, in order to test the foundation for fears, then widely expressed, as to the physical deterioration of the population. In 1909 the Institute sent a second deputation to the present Government, to urge the need for the official training in anthropology of candidates for the Consular Service and of the Indian and Colonial Civil Services. There is happily every reason to hope that the Public Services Commission may act on the recommendations then made. This year (1913) the Institute returned to the charge and approached the Secretary of State for India, with a view to making anthropology an integral feature of the studies of the Oriental Research Institute, to the establishment of which the Government of India had officially proposed to give special attention. The Institute has also lately arranged to deal with all questions of scientific import that may come before the newly constituted Bureau of Ethnology at the Royal Colonial Institute, in the hope with its co-operation of eventually establishing a great *desideratum*—an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology. It has further had in hand a scheme for the systematic and thorough distribution of local correspondents throughout the world,

At Oxford, anthropology as a serious study was recognised by the appointment, in 1884, of a Reader, who was afterwards given the status of a Professor. In 1885, it was admitted as a special subject in the Final Honours School of Natural Science. In 1904, a memorandum was drawn up by those interested in the study at the University, advocating a method of systematic training in it, which resulted in the formation of the Committee of Anthropology in the following year. This Committee has established a series of lectures and examinations for a diploma, which can be taken as part of the degree course, but is open to all officers of the public services as well. By these means a School of Anthropology has been created at Oxford, which has already registered many students, among whom officers engaged in the administration of the British Colonies in Africa and members of the Indian Civil Service have been included. The whole question has been systematically taken up in all its aspects, the instruction, formal and informal, comprising physical anthropology, psychology, geographical distribution, prehistoric archæology, technology, sociology,and philology.

At Cambridge, in 1893, there was a recognised Lecturer in Physical Anthropology, an informal office now represented by a Lecturer in Physical Anthropology and a Reader in Ethnology, regularly appointed by the University. In 1904, as a result of an expedition to Torres Straits, a Board of Anthropological Studies was formed, and a Diploma in Anthropology instituted, to be granted, not for success in examinations, but in recognition of meritorious personal research. At the same time, in order to help students, among whom were included officials in the African and Indian Civil Services, the Board established lectures on the same subjects as those taught at Oxford. This year, 1913, the University has instituted an Anthropological Tripos for its Degrees on lines similar to the others. The distinguishing feature of the Cambridge system is the prominence given to field work, and this is attracting foreign students of all sorts.

In 1909, joint representations were made by a deputation from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to both the India and Colonial Offices, advocating the training of Civil Service candidates and probationers in ethnology and primitive religion.

In 1904, the generosity of a private individual established a Lectureship in Ethnology in connection with the University of London, which has since developed into a Professorship of Ethnology with a Lectureship in Physical Anthropology. In the same year the same benefactor instituted a Chair of Sociology. In 1909 the University established a Board of Anthropology, and the subject is now included in the curricula for the Degrees of the University. In and after 1914, Anthropology will be a branch of the Science Honours Degree. The Degree course of the future covers both physical and cultural anthropology in regard to zoology, palæontology, physiology, psychology, archæology, technology, sociology, linguistics and ethnology. There will also be courses in ethnology with special attention to field work for officials and missionaries, and it is interesting to note that students of Egyptology are already taking a course of lectures in ethnology and physical anthropology.

Though the Universities have thus been definite enough in their action where the authority is vested in them, it is needless to say that their representations to Governments have met with varying success, and so far they have not produced much practical result. But it is as well to note here that a precedent for the preliminary anthropological training of probationers in the Colonial Civil Service has been already set up, as the Government of the Sudan has directed that every candidate for its services shall go through a course of anthropology at Oxford or Cambridge. In addition to this, the Sudan Government has given a grant to enable a competent anthropologist from London to run a small scientific survey of the peoples under

its administration. The Assam Government has arranged its ethnographical monographs on the lines of the British Association's 'Notes and Queries' with much benefit to itself, and it is believed that the Burma Government will do likewise.

Speaking in this place to such an audience as that before me, and encouraged by what was already been done elsewhere, I cannot think that I can be mistaken in venturing to recommend the encouragement of the study of anthropology to the University of such a city as Birmingham, which has almost unlimited interests throughout the British Empire. For it should be remembered that anthropological knowledge is as useful to merchants *in partibus* in dealing with aliens as to administrators so situated. Should this suggestion bear fruit, and should it be thought advisable some day to establish a School of Anthropology in Birmingham, I would also venture to point out that there are two requirements preliminary to the successful formation of almost any school of study. These are a library and a museum *ad hoc*. At Oxford there is a well known and well conducted anthropological museum in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, and the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge contains collections of the greatest service to the anthropologist. Liverpool is also interesting itself in such matters. The Royal Anthropological Institute is forming a special library, and both that Institute and the University of London have the benefit of the splendid collections of the British Museum and of the Horniman Museum readily accessible. The libraries at Oxford and Cambridge are, I need hardly say, of world-wide fame. At all these places of learning, then, these requisites for this department of knowledge are forthcoming.

It were almost superfluous to state why they are requisites. Every student requires, not only competent teachers to guide him in his particular branch of study, but also a library and a museum close at hand, where he can find the information he wants and the illustration of it. Where these exist, thither it will be found that students will flock. Birmingham possesses peculiar facilities for the formation of both, as the city has all over the Empire its commercial representatives, who can collect the required museum specimens on the spot. The financial labours also of those who distribute these men over Greater Britain, and indeed all over the world, produce the means to create the library and the school, and their universal interests provide the incentive for securing for those in their employ the best method of acquiring a knowledge of men that can be turned to useful commercial purpose. Beyond these suggestions I will not pursue this point now, except to express a hope that this discourse may lead to a discussion thereon before this meeting breaks up.

Before I quit my subject I would like to be somewhat insistent on the fact that, though I have been dwelling so far exclusively on the business side, as it were, of the study of anthropology, it has a personal side as well. I would like to impress once more on the student, as I have often had occasion to do already, that whether he is studying of his own free will or at the behest of circumstances, there is hardly any better hobby in existence than this, or one that can be ridden with greater pleasure. It cannot, of course, be mastered in a day. At first the lessons will be a grind. Then, until they are well learnt, they are irksome, but when fullness of knowledge and maturity of judgment are attained, there is, perhaps, no keener sense of satisfaction which human beings can experience than that which is afforded by this study. Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to pleasantly occupy the leisure hours from youth to full manhood, and to be a solace, in some aspect or other, in advanced life and old age.

The processes of discovery in the course of this study are of such interest in themselves that I should wish to give many instances, but I must confine myself now to one or two. The

students will find on investigation, for instance, that however childish the reasoning of savages may appear to be on abstract subjects, and however silly some of their customs may seem, they are neither childish nor silly in reality. They are almost always the result of 'correct argument from a false premiss'—a mental process not unknown to civilised races. The student will also surely find that savages are not fools where their concrete interests are concerned, as they conceive those interests to be. For example, in commerce, beads do not appeal to savages merely because they are pretty things, except for purposes of adornment. They will only part with articles they value for particular sorts of beads which are to them money, in that they can procure in exchange for them, in their own country, something they much desire. They have no other reason for accepting any kind of bead in payment for goods. On few anthropological points can mistakes be made more readily than on this, and when they are made by merchants, financial disaster can well follow, so that what I have already said elsewhere as to this may bear repetition in part here. Savages in their bargains with civilised man never make one that does not, for reasons of their own, satisfy themselves. Each side, in such a case, views the bargain according to its own interest. On his side, the trader buys something of great value to him, when he has taken it elsewhere, with something of little value to him, which he has brought from elsewhere, and then, and only then, can he make what is to him a magnificent bargain. On the other hand the savage is more than satisfied, because with what he has got from the trader he can procure from among his own people something he very much covets, which the article he parted with could not have procured for him. Both sides profit by the bargain from their respective points of view, and traders cannot, as a matter of fact, take undue advantage of savages, who, as a body, part with products of little or no value to themselves for others of vital importance, though these last may be of little or none to the civilised trader. The more one dives into recorded bargains, the more clearly one sees the truth of this view.

I have always advocated personal inquiry into the native currency and money, even of pre-British days, of the people amongst whom a Britisher's lot is cast, for the reason that the study of the mental processes that lead up to commercial relations, internal and external, the customs concerned with daily buying and selling, take one more deeply into aliens' habits of mind and their outlook on practical life than any other branch of research. The student will find himself involuntarily acquiring a knowledge of the whole life of a people, even of superstitions and local politics, matters that commercial men, as well as administrators, cannot, if they only knew it, ever afford to ignore. The study has also a great intellectual interest, and neither the man of commerce nor the man of affairs should disregard this side of it if he would attain success in every sense of that term.

Just let me give one instance from personal experience. A few years back a number of ingots of tin, in the form of birds and animals and imitations thereof, hollow tokens of tin ingots, together with a number of rough notes taken on the spot, were handed over to me for investigation and report. They came from the Federated Malay States, and were variously said to have been used as toys and as money in some form. A long and careful investigation unearthed the whole story. They turned out to be surviving specimens of an obsolete and forgotten Malay currency. Bit by bit, by researches into travellers' stories and old records, European and vernacular, it was ascertained that some of the specimens were currency and some money, and that they belonged to two separate series. Their relations to each other were ascertained, and also to the currencies of the European and Oriental nations with whom the Malays of the Peninsula had come in contact. The mint profit in some instances, and in other instances the actual profit European governments and mercantile authorities, and even native traders, had made in recorded transactions of the past, was found out. The origin of the British, Dutch, and Portuguese money, evolved for trading with the Malays, was disclosed, and several interesting historical discoveries were made; as, for instance, the explanation of the coins still

remaining in museums and issued in 1510 by the great Portuguese conqueror, Albuquerque, for the then new Malay possessions of his country, and the meaning of the numismatic plates of the great French traveller Tavernier in the next century. Perhaps the most interesting, and anthropologically the most important, discovery was the relation of the ideas that led up to the animal currency of the Malays to similar ideas in India, Central Asia, China, and Europe itself throughout all historical times. One wonders how many people in these isles grasp the fact that our own monetary scale of 960 farthings to the sovereign, and the native Malay scale of 1,280 cash to the dollar, are representatives of one and the same universal scale, with more than probably one and the same origin out of a simple method of counting seeds, peas, beans, shells, or other small natural constant weights. Bur the point for the present purpose is that not only will the student find that long practice in anthropological inquiry, and the learning resulting therefrom, will enable him to make similar discoveries, but also that the process of discovery is intensely interesting. Such discoveries, too, are of practical value. In this instance they have taught us much of native habits of thought and views of life in newly acquired possessions which no administrator there, mercantile or governmental, can set aside with safety.

I must not dwell too long on this aspect of my subject, and will only add the following remark. If any of my hearers will go to the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford he will find many small collections recording the historical evolution of various common objects. Among them is a series showing the history of the tobacco pipe, commonly known to literary students in this country as the nargileh and to Orientalists as the hukka. At one end of the series will be found a hollow coconut with an artificial hole in it, and then every step in evolution between that and an elaborate hukka with its long, flexible, drawing-tube at the other end. I give this instance, as I contributed the series, and I well remember the eagerness of the hunt in the Indian bazaars and the satisfaction on proving every step in the evolution.

There is one aspect of life where the anthropological instinct would be more than useful, but to which, alas, it cannot be extended in practice. Politics, government, and administration are so interdependent throughout the world that it has always seemed to me to be a pity that the value to himself of following the principles of anthropology cannot be impressed on the average politician of any nationality. I fear it is hopeless to expect it. Were it only possible, the extent of the consequent benefit to mankind is at present beyond human forecast, as then the politician could approach his work without that arrogance of ignorance of his fellow countrymen on all points, except their credulity, that is the bane of the ordinary types of his kind wherever found, with which they have always poisoned and are still poisoning their minds, mistaking the satisfaction of the immediate temporary interests and prejudices of themselves and comrades for the permanent advantage of the whole people, whom, in consequence, they incontinently misgovern, whenever and for so long as their country is so undiscerning as to place them in power.

Permit me, in conclusion, to enforce the main argument of this address by a personal note. It was my fortune to have been partly trained in youth at a University College, where the tendency was to produce men of affairs rather than men of the schools, and only the other day it was my privilege to hear the present master of the College, my own contemporary and fellow-undergraduate, expound the system of training still carried out there. 'In the government of young men,' he said, 'intellect is all very well, but sympathy counts for very much more.' Here we have the root principle of Applied Anthropology. Here we have in a nutshell the full import of its teaching. The sound administration of the affairs of men can only be based on cultured sympathy, that sympathy on sure knowledge, that knowledge on competent study, that study on accurate inquiry, that inquiry on right method, and that method on continuous experience.

CRITICAL NOTES ON KALHANA'S EIGHTH TARANGA.

BY E. HULTZSCH.

THE subjoined list forms the continuation of my "Critical Notes on Kalhaṇa's Seventh Taraṅga" in Vol. XL. of this Journal (p. 97 ff.). It is concerned with **verses 1-1500 of the last Taraṅga (VIII.) of Kalhaṇa's Râjataraṅgiṇî** and registers those readings of my ancient Śâradâ MS. (M) which are either preferable to those of Sir Aurel Stein's edition or worth consideration. The abbreviations are the same as before (Vol. XL. p. 97), but the two MSS. P and E were not at hand during the preparation of this list. In M the following verses of the passage VIII, 1-1500 are preserved either in full or partially:—1-24, 733-1369, and 1495-1500, while the leaves containing verses 25-732 and 1370-1494 are lost. It will be observed that, wherever M is available for comparison, it becomes possible to correct some details of the published text. Every student of the **eighth Taraṅga** is therefore recommended to consult this list when using Sir Aurel Stein's excellent edition and translation of Kalhaṇa's chronicle.

3. °वग्राहौ M.

13. व्यक्ति M.; read व्यक्तिं.

14. Read °स्मृत्याद्रधीः with M.

17. Read °ह्वित्र° with D.

149. Read युक्त्या° with D.

175. Read °वाक्तैस्तै° with C and D.

252. Read perhaps °मत्योज्जो° (°मुद्रोजो° MSS., °मह्योज्जो° C).

296. Read perhaps प्रावेश° with C, D and °मुखाः स्व°.

368. Read कुर्वत्या with D.

375. Read °चक्रिकैः with N.

490. Read त्वदूयत.

501. Read चक्रिकाम् (चाक्रिकम् C, D, N).

538. बङभापुरा° N; cf. my note on VII, 588.

600. If the reading स्वभार्यातनयोन्तिकम् is correct, Kalhaṇa would have offended against Pâṇini, VI, 1, 125.

610. Read सान्त्व्यमानः with D.

708. Read °पाल्लिकाः.

715. Read °क्रान्त्येव with D.

733. खळीर्वी° M.

737. आसन्नश्रान्त° M. Divide *âsan aśânta*° or *âsan aśrânta*,° while Dr. Stein's translation presupposes *âsanna-śânta*°.

739. Read °योगिना with M.

746. मन्दोद्योग[:*] M.

747. °न्वाधांश्चेति M; read °द्राधां चेति.

750. Read तया तं with M.

After 756 M. adds the following verse:—

विहारवाटिके तुङ्गेशापणे कम्पनापतिः ।
अन्ये नन्दनवने ससैन्या राजमन्त्रिणः ॥

"The commander of the army (stood) at Vihâra Vâṭika (?) on the Tuṅgêśâpaṇa (cf. VI, 190) and the other ministers of the king in the Nandanavana with soldiers.

760. °स्येच्छट° M.

764. °चाटिल्लिकां M.

766. विसदृशेन M.

770. चेद्याप्य M, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad. वृध्यान्न: M; cf. the footnotes in P. Durgaprasad's edition and in Dr. Stein's translation.

774. कृत्स्नं M; read कृत्स्नो.

777. Read °चक्रिकान् with M.

780. °प्रतापेषु लवन्येष्वथ M.

782. °त्यानावि° M, °त्यान्स्ववि° C, N, °त्यान्स वि° (which seems to be correct) D.

785. विरागभाक् M.

788. यो नास्ति व्यापदा M; read यो नान्तर्व्यापदा.

790. सिम्बाख्यो M. Read °यन्द्वार° with M.

798. भिक्षुमुग्ध° M.

800. Read °द्वैर्ययो° with M; cf. VIII, 824.

801. राज्ञो धैर्येण M.

802. पलायिते M.

803. नाम for वास: M. Read °वर्षिणम् with C and D.

812. सबालवृद्धं M.

813. Read प्रातरेवेत्य with M; see Pâṇini, VI, 1, 95.

814. °मैच्छत M.

816. निर्गत: M.

817. °रवद्° and तद्भृत्या M.

819. स भृत्यद्रोह° M.

821. °स्यात्र विनिश्वसन् M.

824. युयुत्सु: M. °वाळाद्यी° M, N.

825. Read °निरोधिन: with M.

827. Read °न्मार्गेषु with M.

831. °वच्चहिलिका° M.

834. °गोष्ठीं M.

844. °लाश्लिष्टै° M.

845. °लोद्योतिना M.

847. Read °मश्वस्य वल्ग[त:] and चारुचामरे° with M.

848. Read निरुद्धाश्व[:] with M.

849. °कृत्योप° M.

850. Read स न्यवर्शयत् with M.

858. Read °रोभिधां with M.

859 °स्यादृष्टपूर्वस्य M.

861. जुञ्जो M.

862. °करणे M.

863. अन्तरज्ञ: M, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad.

864. धर्य° M.

872. °स्तत्तवन्व° M.

874. गेहे M.

898. अत्तोयुवा° M.

899. °का: प्रायं M; read °का प्रायं.

900. तेजा° M.

902. °दिनाद° M.

903. Read सान्त्व्यमाना with M and D

906. °ह्रुतैः M.
909. तत्र for तच्च M. सोवधीत् M.
918. Read नमश्शून्यं with M.
919. °चापानां M.
920. वैताला° M.
921. किमन्यच्चा° M. Read perhaps सुबहू°. °ध्वस्तयूथान्स M; read perhaps °ध्वस्तयूथान्स्व°.
924. दृष्टा M.
929. काण्ड° M.
934. Read सान्त्व्य° with D.
944. °सिंहाद्यैः M.
946. °तः पतन् M.
948. कोपनर्तित° M.
951. Read केशानल्प° with M.
952. अकृष्ट° M.
953. °रुद्दाम° and °टाङ्कार° M.
955. स लावन्यान्व्य° M; read स लवन्यान्व्य°.
960. प्रस्थितो M and C; cf. the footnote in Dr. Stein's edition. न्यधात् M.

The second half of verse 961, which is missing in other MSS., runs thus in M:—

अविक्रिया तस्य गूढा भृत्येष्वासीदमर्षिणः ||

"Inwardly this resentful (king) did not change (in his feelings) towards (his) servants."

962. °संस्पर्शजं M.
968. Read स्वीचिकी° with M.
970. Read °पुरं with M.
971. °धराङ्कनं M.
975. निर्गुंड° M.
976. °दीपयत् M.
980. Read °हेमाण्ड° with M.
984. Read शावसंहार°.
986. केपि नि° M.
989. भस्मीभूता° and सिमिसिमा° M.
992. Read वात्र with M.
993. °व्याज° M.
997. °महं M.
999. °वैशसे M, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad.
1002. Here and in verses 1039 and 1043 M reads सिम्भ for सिम्ब, and in verse 1045 सिंह.
1005. °वाळादीनुल्हणो M; cf. VIII, 1041, etc.
1006. °रयुद्ध M.
1018. बहुशो बहवं (read °वो) हताः M.
1019. Read °रानीके with M.
1021. Read perhaps विश्वेदेवा with C and N.
1023. व्यवसायो M, as suggested in Dr. Stein's translation.
1031. चेत्प्राप्स्ये° M; read चेत्प्राप्स्य°. साक्षेपं M with L.
1033. M fully confirms Dr. Stein's conjectural readings.
1048. त्यक्ताशिश्रय° M; read त्यक्ताशिश्रिय° with C and D.
1049. °पल्लवे M.

M omits verses 1052 and 1053 and continues thus :—

स्वीकृतान्यवलन्यौघ''सीत्कृततुरङ्गमः ।
सोऽश्ववारैः सह रणं चकार नगरान्तरे ॥
नृपावरोधैस्सौ(स्सौ)धाग्रावालोकितमथाकुलैः ।
भिक्षुणा क्षिप्तिकातीरे स्कन्दा(न्धा)वारं न्यबध्यत ॥

The first of these four lines, which is missing in other MSS., seems to be meant for

स्वीकृतान्यलवन्यौघो वशीकृततुरंगमः ।

"Having won over numerous other Lavanyas (and) having secured horses (for them), he commenced a fight with the horsemen within the city. Then Bhikshu pitched on the bank of the Kshiptikâ a camp which was regarded with apprehension by the king's ladies from the top of the palace."

1056. राज्ञोद्याना° M.

Instead of verse 1059 M has the two following verses :—

......तस्मिन्हतावष्टक्क(ष्टम्भ)विच्युतः ।
डामराणां स कटको बभूव विजयेश्वरे ॥
परेषां तु हयारोहस्तितः पृथ्वीहरादयः ।
प्रययुः सेतुमुल्लङ्घ्य जीवास्वस्थाः कथंचन ॥

1066. क्रोडितो M.

1070. Read °गौत्य with M and C; the reading °गौत्य offends against Pâṇini, VI, 1, 95.

1073. वितस्तायां and °ताद्दलात् M. तजा° M; cf. note on VIII, 900.

1080. °द्वाद्यतुमुलं M and D.

1083. °विच्छिटि° M.

1084. तेलो M. Read त्वत्रिया (as a separate word) with M; cf. L. भिम्भिकास्थानसब्ब° M.

1090. °सिस्सुस्सानिस्सजुकुटाः M; cf. the footnote in Dr. Stein's translation.

1093. पाञ्चाल्यौ फाल्गुनस्येव M. Read °मापतुः with M.

1096. °धाव्यपि M; this or °धाव्यथ is the correct reading.

1097. करे M. न तथा मज्जने पयः M.

1101. जीर्ण° M.

1102. लोष्टाशाह्वलकादयः M.

1105. Read तुरङ्गमं with M.

1112. Read शमितो युद्धे राजसूनुसमीरणः and प्रासाम्बु° with M and translate :—

"These two removed in the fight by showers of darts, the distress (produced) by the prince (Bhikshu) as (the two months) Nabhas and Nabhasya (extinguish) by showers of rain the jungle-fire (fanned) by the wind."

1113. Read वीर° with M.

1117. Read °चिकीर्षुणा with M.

1122. कैश्चि° M.

1127. Read °मुत्तरं with M.

1129. कान्दि° M.

1130. प्ररोहं M.

1131. जन्यकेन M.

1133. मडात्मजौ डम्ण° M.

1147. तथाविधे M.

1148. °त्मतिपत्ते M.

1151. तेनैव for संगम्य M.

1155. पुनश्च for वसन्ते M.

1159. Read निर्जैरेव with M.

1170. Read कृत्स्ने नगरे with M.
1171. Read °स्वामितो with M.
1174. Read °यैव with M and C.
1175. °वेश्मश्लिष्ट° M.
1185. °तेषु च M and N.
1186. Read °सेतोस्तंभ° with M.
1190. भूमिकृते M.
1192. °रक्तन M, as suggested in Dr. Stein's translation.
1193. °दुल्लासयत् M.
1194. भृत्येषु गच्छत्सु M.
1198. प्रेरयच्च M; read प्रैरयच्च. Read व्यदीर्यन्त with M.
1200. एकोप्यद्रा° M.
1201. निपात्य and व्यूहे M.
1202. व्यश्लित° M.
1203. °मानस्स्वोकाशं M; read °माण[: *]स्तोकाशं with C.
1205. Read जाग्रत् with M, N, C, D and स्नान् with D.
1208. Read perhaps भिन्नां (for क्षिप्रं) प्रपेदिरे.
1221. कश्मीर° and °पुरान्तरे M.
1223. Read °स्रस्तां with M.
1229. °मत्र यातः M.

Instead of verses 1230 to 1236 of the printed text M has 161 other verses. That the latter are genuine follows (1) from their style, which is unmistakably Kalhaṇa's, and (2) from the fact that the published text shows a gap in the narrative between the years [41]99 (verse 1154) and [420]3 (verse 1348), which is filled up by those verses: verse 50 specifies the year 100 (*i. e.* 4200), verse 79 the year [420]1, verse 117 the year [420]2, and verse 152 the year [420]3. This period was occupied by continual fights between Sussala and his enemy Bhikshâchara. Much of this passage is so corrupt that it seems difficult to publish the whole from M alone in an intelligible form. Here I shall note only the following occurrences:—Pṛithvîhara is killed by Rilhaṇa and Śyâma (verse 13 f.); Prajji dies (verse 144); in Vaiśâkha of the year [420]3 Sussala leaves Śrînagar for the last time (verse 152).

1237. °देवो गूढं कन्दलयन्नयं M.
1238. स तं बन्धुं M.
1241. स्वमान्त्रिभिः M.
1246. Read perhaps सान्निध्यं for तन्नित्यं.
1248. व्यापादयाम्यहं M.
1252. भव्यमवर्णयत् M.
1258. न्नौद्रे M.
1259. Read सुज्जिना with M.
1260. वाष्टयूवाख्य° M.
1269. °वतरैः and °वोद्ययौ M, which adds the following verse:—

यावन्मात्रस्य दण्डस्य विधेयस्य विरोधिनां ।
हिमागमो नरपतेः परिपन्थित्वमाययौ ॥

"The beginning of winter prevented the king from inflicting any punishment on the enemies."

1270. °न्नवर्तत M.
1271. °न्ताक्रमण° M.

1275. निपतेर्द्दुर M ; read निपतेद्दुर. Read क्र न for क्रमेत् with M.

1296. Read प्रकर्तुमैच्छंस्त्वानार° with M. कंचि° M with L.

1299. Read स्नात्वा प्रतीक्षे (" Having bathed I shall wait for (you) ") with M.

1301. साशङ्को M.

1312. व्याघ्र° M, व्याघ्रः C.

1318. करङ्कादज्ञको M ; read करङ्काद्यज्ञको, as suggested by P. Durgaprasad.

1320. कटके M.

1321. तमोरौ M.

1323. °र्नागदाभिधं M.

1326. पत्तद्वारेण M.

1328. °पक्ष्यैः M.

1331. For the use of *alam* with the gerund, see Pâṇini, III, 4, 18, and Mâgha, II, 40.

1332. जांत° M with C and D.

1334. अधरेणासु° M.

1339. त्वं वैजन्यफलं M.

1341. कश्चन M with C.

1349. Read °ख्येनेत्य and see my notes on VIII, 813 and 1070.

1350. योनुभवः M.

1351. Read स्थित्वा with M.

1352. अधमैः M.

1354. Read विशोधिते with M.

1355. °नृप° M. °जमदग्न्या° M, as suggested in Dr. Stein's translation.

1356. Read शोध्य° with M.

1357. °त्नकं and संदर्शने M.

1360. सद्वंद्यतां M.

1362. Read इत्युपालभ° and पित्र्यैरमात्यैः with M.

1364. त्नोहरे M.

1366. Read तादृश्या with M.

1367. Read °स्थितिः with M.

1368. Read °नाह्नायि° with M ; cf. Pâṇini, VIII, 2, 84, and Mâgha, V, 15.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NÂRADA-SMṚITI.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.)., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

I should like to draw the attention of orientalists who are interested in the study of the *Smṛitis*, to one of the sources of the *Nârada-smṛiti*. I brought out the point in the course of a series of articles discussing the connection between the *Artha-śâstra* and the *Dharma-śâstras*.

The procedure law of the *Nârada-smṛiti* is greatly based on the *Dharmasthîya* book of the *Artha-śâstra* of Kauṭilya. In the preface the *smṛiti* avows that it is based on Manu, while it seldom follows the Code of Manu. The importance of the *Artha-śâstra* in Hindu legal history is so very considerable that we shall be justified in treating the Book on Law (*Dharmasthîya*) as a part of the permanent legal system of the Hindus. The *Mânava-dharma-śâstra*[1] criticises it, the Yâjñavalkya[2] borrows from it, and the *Nâradasmṛiti* adopts its purely secular treatment and its principles of procedure law.[3]

[1] See *The Doctrine of Equity in Hindu Jurisprudence*, *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, *Nos.* 39, 41, and 42, (1911). (Cf. also the *Archiv für Reschts und Wirtschafts philosophie*, V, 4, where the articles have been discussed.)

[2] C W. N., 1913, No. 39.

[3] cf C. W. N , Nos. 44 & 45, 1913. See NS., Introduction, 2, 7, 10, 11, 37, 39, 40, and AS., verses at p. 150 (ed. Shama Sastri); cf. also the laws of evidence in AS., III. 11, with NS. I.; rules about plaint and written statement in AS., III. 1, with those in NS., Intro. II.

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE "ORIGIN AND DECLINE OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM IN SOUTHERN INDIA."

I have read with some interest the paper on *The Origin and Decline of Buddhism and Jainism in Southern India* written by Mr. K. V. Subrhamanya Ayyar and published in the pages of this *Journal.* I cannot leave the subject without making a few observations on some statements made by the author which are wrong and consequently likely to become mischievous. I shall not trouble myself with the first part, which is based exclusively on the *Mahâvaṁśa,* whose authenticity for historical purposes has been questioned by scholars, but shall confine my observations to the latter part. But, before doing so, I shall notice in brief one point. Our author says that the famous Bauddha *bhikshu,* Ariṭṭa, who was the maternal uncle of Dêvânâṁpiya Tiśsa, might be the person after whom the village of Ariṭṭâppaṭṭi in the Madura District, must have been named. There is as much likelihood as not for such a supposition. If the Brâhmî inscriptions found there call the village by the name Ariṭṭâppaṭṭi, we could easily take it to have been named after this Bauddha apostle. On the other hand our friend himself states that one of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions found in that region mentions a Ariṭṭanêmi. There is now a probability of the place being called after this person also; so then, one cannot be certain as to the origin of the name of the village. It is apparent that, since this fact came in handy enough to bring home a theory of his making, Mr. Ayyar has utilised it here. I do not mean to say that he himself could not have perceived the difficulty in an identification of the kind he has made.

A similar error is committed by coupling the name of an Ajjaṇandi mentioned in the Tamiḻ epic *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* and a similar name found in inscriptions. I would be the first person to accept such an identification if the date of any of the two factors of the identity had been known. Has our author determined the approximate date at least of this Tamiḻ epic poem? Or, does he know the period in which the Jaina *âchârya* mentioned in the stone records lived? If neither of these dates is known, how can we assert that the two Ajjaṇandis are identical?

From a careful study of the hymn of Tirujñânasambandar, one would perceive that he ridicules the curious names of the Jaina *gurus,* rather than gives a list of his contemporaries of the Jaina persuation, who lived on the Âṇaimalai hill. He says "As long as I have the grace of Śiva of the temple at Âlavây (Madura), I would not feel helpless, before the blind fools of Jainas who hail with the names Śanduśêṇaṉ, Induśêṇaṉ, etc., and who like monkeys, go about without any knowledge either of the Âryan tongue or of the refined Tamiḻ." The vein of derision is seen when he talks of the swarthy colour of these people, while he describes Kanduśêna, an imaginary personage. The very peculiar satirical tone of Tirujñânasambandar is visible throughout the verses referred to here. He also plays upon the names of the religions that were in vogue at that time, Andaṉam (Brahmanism), Arugandaṉam (the religion of the Arhantas), Puttaṉam (that of Buddha), Śittaṉam (of the Siddhas), etc.

Another statement which cannot go unquestioned is: "The time of the three Âḻvârs has been definitely made out. They belong to the latter half of the 8th century A. D. and seem to have held high position in life. What Jñanasambandar and Appar are to the Śaivites, Nammâḻvâr and Tirumaṅgai are to the Vaishṇavites of the south. The hymns composed by them are equally stirring. Madhurakavi was the minister of the king Neduñjaḍaiyaṉ and Nammâḻvâr was the magistrate of the town of Âḻvâr-Tirunagari in the Tinnevelly District. It is easy to conceive the amount of influence they might have brought to bear upon the people." Will Mr. Ayyar be good enough to tell us who has made out the time of these Âḻvârs and how it is definite? Where is it said that Madhurakavi, the Âḻvâr, was the minister of Neduñjaḍaiyaṉ or that Nammâḻvâr was the District Magistrate of the district of *Âḻvâr*-Tirunagari in the Pâṇḍya kingdom? Was the name of the place in which the latter Âḻvâr was a magistrate the same as is given by our author in those days, or did it come to be known after the Âḻvâr at a subsequent time? For aught we can gather from the *Guruparampara* of the Śrîvaishṇavas, Madhurakavi, the Âḻvar, was a poor Brâhmaṇa born in Tirukkôḷûr, long before Nammâḻvâr was born, and had travelled far and wide on pilgrimage, and eventually became the disciple and constant companion of his master, Nammâḻvâr. He does not appear to be a master in the art of composing sweet verses and therefore called Madhurakavi, for the only composition of his that we have got at present is only a decade of verses in praise of his master. These verses do not speak much for his capacity for making *sweet* verses. The minister of Neduñjaḍaiyaṉ is called Mâṟaṉ-Kâri (Kâri the son of Mâṟaṉ, Mâra-sûnu), and

was born in the Vaidya-kula in the town of Karavandapuram (Kalakkâḍu in the Tinnevelly District). He was remarkable for his sweet compositions and was also known on that account as Madhurakavi. Except in the matter of identity in the name Madhurakavi, there is nothing to prove that the Âḻvâr, a Brâhmaṇa of Tirukkôḷûr, was the same as the Vaidya of Karavandapuram.

A curious *dictum* which finds favour with the official epigraphists of Madras is that he who mentions another must be a contemporaryof the former. The late Mr. Venkayya held that Tirumaṅgai must be a contempor ary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Vayiramêgan, because he praises them as the benefactors of certain temples. Similarly, Mâṇikkvâchaka, who mentions the name Varaguṇa in his work must be the latter's contemporary. If to-day someone writes the biography of another, say Mr. Vincent Smith of the life of Aśôka, could he be called the contemporary of that Bauddha Emperor?

The most egregious of all the blunders is contained in the statement: 'The proper names of Nammâḻvâr and Madhurakavi suggest that the former must have been the father of the latter. As Madhurakavi appears to have died at some time prior to A. D. 769-70, if Tirumangai was his contemporary, there is every likelihood of the latter having lived in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla,' (p. 217, f. n. 33). What are the proper names of the two Âḻvârs according to Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar? how does he claim to have identified the first as the father of the second? Does he not know the former was a Brâhmaṇ, while the latter is said to have been a person of the fourth caste? Was not the birth of Nammâḻvâr unknown to Madhurakavi, and the latter, finding the south glowing with a divine light, traced his steps from Ayôdhyâ to seek this light? If all this tradition is idle, I should object to our friend utilising from the idle tales those portions which say that Nammâḻvâr was called Kârimâṟaṉ, that he was a magistrate (?) of Âḻvâr-Tirunagari, etc. Most certainly Madhurakavi, the Âḻvâr, was not the father of Nammâḻvâr. I would rather put it that the minister, Mâṟaṉ-Kâri, *alias* Madhurakavi, was the father of Nammâḻvâr, and the latter gave the name of his father to his disciple Madhurakavi, the Âḻvâr. In that case I am myself prepared to admit that Nammâḻvar lived about the beginning of the 9th century of the Christian era.[1] It is no wonder that Mr. Ayyar commits so many mistakes, because he follows only in the footsteps of Venkayya, who is the first to blunder in that manner in the construction of the history of the Śrîvaishṇava Âḻvârs and Âchâryas.

The article is a fine specimen of working facts into preconceived theories and basing argument on *ipse dixits*. A wrong *theory* is tolerable, because, it is ever subjected to examination, while a wrong *fact*, if allowed to remain uncontradicted, is likely to prove mischievous in the hands of subsequent students of history, who, because this fact has remained unchallenged, would assume it to be true, and in their turn commit serious blunders. By repetition a wrong fact, even a wrong theory, acquires the status of truth. No more glaring instance of this statement could be quoted than the theory of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, which, when facts against it were placed before Prof. Hultzsch, its author, was accepted by him to be no more tenable, but is still frantically hugged to the bosom by its supporters in India. *i. e.* by scholars like Messrs. Veṅkayya, Krishṇa Śâstri and others.

Trivandram.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

COINS OF AMRITA-PÂLA, RÂJA OF BADAUN.

IN my *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I (1906), pp. 244, 249, and Plate XXVI, 6, I described certain rare silver coins of the "bull and horseman" type under the name of Aśata-pâla, and doubtfully connected them with the mintage of the kings of Ohind.

Mr. Richard Burn has proved to me that the correct reading is Amṛita-pâla, and that the coins were struck by the prince of that name, mentioned in the long inscription now in the Lucknow Museum, and edited by Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 61—66. The inscription was found in the ruins of the south gate of the old fort of Badâun, U. P. It treats of the foundation and endowment of a temple of Śiva, erected apparently at Badâun, which is called Vodâmayûtâ. The record gives the genealogy of a Râshṭrakûṭa Râjâ named Lakhanapâla, the younger brother of his predecessor, Amṛita-pâla, who is described as having been learned, pious, and valiant. It is possible that there may have been a date at the beginning of line 23, but Kielhorn could not read the characters. The script is that of about A. D. 1200.

V. A. S.

[1] Elsewhere I have stated that Nammâḻvâr must have lived about A. D. 1,000, which my subsequent researches have shown to be wrong. I am getting a paper ready on the subject, once again dealing with th Śrîvaishṇava chronology in the light of these fresh facts.

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B. MS. refers to the pages of the Bower Manuscript, in the Appendix.